

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. II

AUGUST 1878

No. 8

THE VERRAZANO MAP

THE Verrazano Map, of which the North American section is now presented with the coast names for the first time, was drawn by Hieronimo da Verrazano, the brother of Giovanni the Navigator. Concerning Hieronimo, comparatively little is known. The late Buckingham Smith would not believe that any such person as the map maker was ever known, and associated the investigations of Tiraboschi with "speculative history." What he refers to in this phrase is a passage in a letter written by Annibal Caro from Castro, in Sicily, prior to October, 1537, and addressed to members of the household of M. di Gaddi, at Rome. In the course of his letter, Caro says: "As for you, Verrazano, a seeker after new worlds and their wonders, I cannot as yet tell you anything worthy of your map; for we have not yet passed through any country which had not been discovered already, either by you or your brother." A "slight examination" of the life and writings of Caro was sufficient to show that at this time he was a teacher in the Gaddi family, and that, while absent on a journey, and "sportively addressing his pupils," he "makes reference to their studies and exercises in geography and map making." Such was the theory that Mr. Smith devised for the purpose of getting rid of the map maker. The subject is referred to here for the purpose of illustrating one of the methods employed in seeking to discredit the voyage of Verrazano.

When some knowledge of the map of Hieronimo was afforded by an imperfect photograph furnished to the American Geographical Society, it became sufficiently clear, even to the prejudiced, that the Verrazano addressed in 1536 by Caro was no school boy, but that the map maker alluded to was a person who had achieved a reputation seven years before, he being no other than the author of the Verrazano Map of 1529, now preserved in the Borghian Museum of the Propaganda at Rome. In the year 1876, however, some documents were printed at Paris in the *Revue Critique*, which proved anew the relationship between

Giovanni and Hieronimo. These documents exist at Rouen, being powers of attorney executed by Giovanni, in which, May, 1526, he refers to "Jerosme de Varasenne, his brother and heir," signing himself "Janus Verrazanus"—this being the only copy of his autograph now known to exist. Jerosme, or Hieronimo, appears to have been his brother's agent. In 1536 he was in some way connected with the household of Gaddi, a rich Florentine resident at Rome. Probably he maintained the relation of a familiar friend. Of his death, at present, we have no account. The identity of Hieronimo never should have been doubted any more than the voyage of Giovanni. In the autograph of Giovanni, which appears in the Rouen document, the name is spelled, as in the map, with a single *z*. The following is a *fac simile*:

"Janus" also appears in the Carli version of the Letter. "Verrazano" is spelled with double *z*, but that version, as already pointed out, is not the original. The double *z* is introduced by error. The photographer of the map in Rome made the same error, writing in double *z*, when the original spelling, perfectly legible, was before him. The single *z* occurring in both the Rouen document and the map is significant, while the recurrence of Janus in that document and in the Carli version of the Letter, so far as it indicates anything, teaches that the Letter and the Rouen document proceeded from the same source. A manuscript sermon by one of the family, according to Mr. Brevoort, is signed with a single *z*.¹

The Map of Verrazano forms one of those indefinite, yet effectual, protests made against the system of Ptolemy towards the middle of the sixteenth century, when the shape of the American continent was being developed. The system of Ptolemy supposed that no continent existed in the Atlantic, and that it was possible to sail from Western Europe to India. This was the view of Columbus, who had no original ideas, being a mere copyist, and died in the belief that he had actually demonstrated the truth of the old theory. Thus Strabo (c. 1.) wrote: "Nor is it likely that the Atlantic Ocean is divided into two seas by narrow isthmuses, so placed as to prevent circumnavigation. How

much more probable that it is confluent and uninterrupted? Those who circumnavigate the earth do not say that they have been prevented from continuing their voyage by any opposing continent, but through want of resolution and the scarcity of provision."

The Map of Verrazano represents the improved Italian cartography at the time when it had reached the peculiar phase, expressed not only by the outlines of the map, with its narrow isthmus separating the Atlantic from the Pacific Seas, but by the observation of the navigator himself, where he says to the King of France, "My intention in this voyage was to reach Cathay, on the extreme coast of Asia, expecting, however, to find in the new land some such obstacle as there has proved to be, yet I did not doubt that I should penetrate by some passage to the Eastern Ocean." He then refers to the fact that the Ptolemaic system supposed an open sea between Europe and Asia, without intervening land, a theory that Hieronimo was relinquishing with regret. October 15, 1524, Cortes wrote to the Emperor of Spain that he intended to send a fleet to search for a strait between Florida and Newfoundland; while in 1525 Gomez undertook such a voyage.

The Verrazano Map is the earliest known map which shows an isthmus near latitude 42° N. The author fixes the date of the map at 1529, by saying that "Nova Gallia" was discovered five years since. The words "Mare Occidentale" are *not* found on the map.

The earliest Spanish map of North America now known to the geographical world, was made in the year 1500 by Juan de la Cosa. It shows a solid coast line, while Cuba appears properly represented as an island. Ruysch, in his map of 1508, shows a coast line, but it resembles that of Eastern Asia, upon which he engrafted the outlines of Newfoundland. Cuba appears as an island of almost continental proportions.

Before Ruysch's Map appeared at Rome, a map of the world was engraved in Lorraine, being originally intended for publication in 1507, though it was not brought out until published in the Ptolemy of 1513. Evidently it was drawn between 1501-4, and sent from Lisbon to the Duke of Lorraine. At all events the engraver finished his work before Duke René's death, which took place December 10,² 1508. At this period the Portuguese were active in the Gulf of Mexico, and doubtless explored Florida. There is a manuscript in the Admiralty at Seville, which shows that in May, 1503, Juan de la Cosa went to explore Uraba; and that, July 13th, he sent a courier to his government, complaining that the Portuguese had been to the country discovered by Bastides. In August, Cosa went to Spain, to lay the whole matter before the

Court, as the Portuguese had arranged to make still another voyage. At Segovia, Cosa presented to the Queen two charts of the New World. These, apparently, are lost. (Ramon de la Sagra's "Cuba," II, 488.) The Lorraine Map of 1513 (Llewellyn's "Moyen-Age," II, 145) contains nothing in particular that is taken from either Cosa or Ruysch, though it appears to have had its origin somewhat in common with the latter. It indicates the progressive spirit so evident in Martyr's Map, published in 1511, which laid down Florida a "*beimeni*." On this point the reader may also consult Varnhagen. ("Le Premier Voyage de Amerigo Vespucci," 1869, p. 24.) The map of 1513 shows North and South America, with Florida and the Gulf of Mexico fully defined, though the Cape is placed in 35° N. With this map we have the commencement of the North America portion of the Map of Verrazano, whose author, either without sufficient study, or by a clerical error, adopted the wrong latitude, which was too high by about eight degrees. For the extreme northern portion of his map, Hieronimo used some chart similar to that of Pedro Reinel, which appears as Number III. in the accompanying sheet of sketches. The intermediate portions of the coast were made up from material and hints afforded by his Brother's Voyage. Another reason perhaps for leaving the latitude of Florida as given in the map of 1513, and as also found in one of the maps of Kunstman's Atlas (Sheet 4) may be found in the fact that Giovanni did not explore Florida, while at the time Hieronimo drew his map he had not heard of the Exploration made in that region by Ayllon, 1523. He knew, however, of the Voyage of Garay, made to the northerly part of the Bay of Mexico, in 1521, for the purpose of discovering any rich cities that might be situated along the coast; thus carrying on the work of Cortes and Ponce de Leon, Garay being succeeded by De Soto. Garay's survey was extended nearly to the peninsula of Florida. The limit of his voyage is stated upon the Map of Verrazano, precisely as upon the undated sketch given by Navarrete (III, 148) in connection with the Cedula of Garay. The legend is omitted in our present representation of the Verrazano Map on account of the lack of space. It runs, however, as follow: "*Qui comincio a discoprir franc de garra ultima della Nova Hispania*;" or, "here begins the voyage of Francis Garay, the limit of New Spain." By commencing with the Cape of Florida eight degrees too high, the central portions of the coast shared in the error, which is not eliminated until reaching Newfoundland. This must be understood very distinctly, since confusion will otherwise ensue when the reader comes to examine the regions representing the Bay of New York and the Rhode Island

coast, which are placed six or seven degrees too high. Under the circumstances, the latitude may be thrown out altogether, as the configuration of the coast is recognizable.

Prior to the time when this map was made, a passage to the west, through the North American Continent, was supposed to exist, notwithstanding the fact that the map of 1513 gave a conjectural coast line as high as latitude 55° N. This point, therefore, renders it necessary to refer to the "Isole del Mondo" of Benedetto Bordone, written in 1521, being sanctioned by the Pope the same year, and by the Venitian Senate in 1526, though not printed until 1528. This work (L. Primo, pp. 6 and 11 verso) gives two maps, which, taken together, exhibit the chief portions of North and South America. With respect to North America, the remarkable thing is, that for its outlines Bordone adopted the outlines of Greenland as found upon the Zeno Map, published at Venice in 1558.¹

After speaking of regions of Northern Europe, Bordone says; "To these is added the island newly discovered by the Spaniards and Portuguese, in which there is a country called Laboratore, which is in the Western Ocean, trending towards the north part, west opposite Ireland. It is eighteen hundred miles long, and extends towards the west two thousand miles, and thence turns south and south-west, in a manner that it forms a strait with the new world, which is east and west with the Strait of Gibraltar, and this part extends a thousand miles; and from what the navigators say until the present day, though no person has set foot upon the land, it is well inhabited." The maps accompanying the account agree perfectly with the description, which we must remember was prepared for publication and approved three years before the voyage of Verrazano. Bordone next proceeds to describe the people according to Pasqualigo, who gave an account of the voyage of the Cortereals, published in 1508. Bordone's work having been published in 1528, was doubtless seen by Hieronimo, who, instead of copying the open strait, put a narrow peninsula in that region, according to his Brother's Letter.

That the Map of Verrazano was drawn at the period claimed is certain, since a copy of it was presented to Henry VIII. If it had been the forgery of a late period, the maker would have complimented the navigator sufficiently to avoid the errors of latitude. This chart is evidently the one referred to by Annibal Caro in 1537.

Amongst the names placed by Jerome upon the peninsula of Florida are those of "Dieppe" and "Livorno," which, it has been said, were

given to indicate the beginning of his brother's exploration on the American coast. Livorno, however, appears as "G. Livor," or the Gulf of Leghorn, applied to the waters on the west coast of Florida by the map of 1513, which is number IV. of our sketch. The name, however, disappears in the later editions. The names taken from the map of 1513 were used by Verrazano in entire good faith, as was the case with those from Reinel.

The exploration of Verrazano, instead of being limited by the names on the map, beginning with Livorno, is indicated in part at least by three flags, of which the most southern stands near the isthmus of the western sea. When the latitudes of the map are corrected, the flag is found where, according to the Letter, it should be found, namely, near 34° N. The northernmost flag probably was not intended to show the limit of the voyage, but rather the limits of the region explored by Verrazano, as the Breton flag succeeds the three flags of Verrazano. We know that these flags were intended to indicate the claims of Francis I., because upon the original map they are blue, which about that period was made the color of France, in opposition to the white flag of England. Francis I., it would appear from Vernouel (*Les Couleurs de la France*, p. 25), had something to do in confirming the use of this color. These flags bear no device whatsoever, and the precise time when the lilies came into general use is not apparent.

A careful study of the map will show that, with all its defects, it possesses excellencies not found on any other map of the sixteenth century, and proves at the same time that, with the exception of Florida and Newfoundland sections, it was based upon an original survey of the Atlantic coast from North Carolina to Cape Breton. Speaking of the Letter of Verrazano, Mr. Smith says that it "was written at a time so far back, that the entrances of the coast of the 'Lay of the Land' were imperfectly or not at all known, and that it was dated too far forward, to be in proper relation with the progress of maritime discovery." Nothing could be more remote from the truth than this. Rhetoricians tell us that, if we wish to test a figure, we should paint it. The same is true of a geographical description; and when that of Verrazano is thus treated its value is evident. Hieronimo, in a sense, painted the voyage of his brother, the Navigator, the result being so admirable that it required nearly a hundred years for geographers to make any real improvement upon his work. As Mr. Smith never saw the Verrazano Map and knew nothing whatever about it, he may be excused for giving utterance to opinions like those set forth in his "Inquiry."

The false latitudes of the map have prevented it from being understood. In considering it, therefore, the latitudes must be discarded. When this is done, the student will have no difficulty in recognizing the outlines of the North Atlantic coast. For general correctness, the delineation is not equalled by any map of the sixteenth century. Much that is wanting in the Letter appears in this Map. The peninsula of Florida is unmistakable, and, moving northward and striking the coast in the region of the Carolinas, we find the well known Cape Hatteras in Cape "Olimpo." Near "Santanna" is the mouth of Chesapeake Bay, and at Palamsina is the entrance of the Delaware. The coast of New Jersey follows with the well known Sandy Hook at its northern extremity; "San Germano" marking a large bay, which is the Bay of New York. This bay is exaggerated, because it formed a prominent point in the narrative. The peninsula indicates Long Island, supposed to be attached to the Continent, and which was not known to be an island until the seventeenth century, the entrance to Long Island Sound being narrow and filled with islands. The coast still stretches eastward, beyond the Island of "Luisa," or Block Island, to a cape called "Bussa," and a long Syrtis indicating Cape Cod and Nantucket Shoals. The harbor of Verrazano is given east of Luisa, as "G. del Refugio." Passing Cape Cod, the coast turns more northward, and then, properly, eastward again. The great river near the Cape of "San Luis" might stand for the Penobscot or the Saco, the latter being, perhaps, the more probable. From this region to Cape Breton the map has no special features, the coast being delineated as it often was in subsequent times, the Bay of Fundy not appearing with much distinctness, if at all. No map now known to the public of an earlier date than the seventeenth century, except Homem's, 1558, shows that bay, though its existence was known, the peninsula of Nova Scotia having been compared to the peninsula of Italy, 1575, as indicated in the previous chapter.

Under the circumstances, it is remarkable that the outline of the coast should be so recognizable. In the Map of Ribero, based upon the Voyage of Gomez, 1525, no indication whatever is found of the peculiar region between New York Bay and the Penobscot. Gomez is credited with having observed and named the Hudson "San Antonio," which Verrazano mentions as the river of the "Steep Hills;" but, if he came to New York Bay and went eastward, he has given no hint whatsoever of the region now embraced by Long Island, Connecticut, Rhode Island and Massachusetts. As it is, we have no account of his visiting the region in question, and it would be quite as reasonable to suppose that

the naming of the Hudson on the map of Ribero was one result of the Voyage of Verrazano, in 1524. The Penobscot is the only region clearly defined by Gomez, and his visit cannot, perhaps, be denied. In the Ribero map, Sandy Hook is wildly exaggerated. Attention has already been called to the fact that many supposed that it was intended to represent Cape Cod; whereas that cape has no representation in the sixteenth century maps, beyond what was given by Verrazano. After the year 1529, the knowledge of the coast between the Delaware and the Penobscot suffered a decline. The map of Hieronimo was used, but the high latitudes given to the region confused the copyists, and Long Island eventually disappeared, being known no more until it reappeared in the Dutch "Figurative Map" (Holland Documents) in connection with the explorations of Adrian Block; though Allefonsce evidently knew of the existence of Long Island Sound. In the meanwhile the coast was represented in a crude fashion, New England being obliterated, while a great gulf, which Dr. Kohl confused with the "Gulf of Maine," was thrown in between Sandy Hook and the Penobscot. Apart from the Verrazano Map, and those which show its influence, Cape Cod had no place in recognized geography until 1602, when it was seen by Gosnold, and received the name that it will bear to the end of time. This view of the subject is amply vindicated by the careful study of the maps subsequent to Verrazano. Let us next proceed to notice the effect of this map upon subsequent delineations of the coast.

The earliest existing map now known, showing the influence of the Verrazano Map, is that of Agnese, 1536, with an open sea and isthmus near 40° N. There is nothing to indicate that Agnese preceded Verrazano. Besides, the map referred to by Carli, October, 1537, must have been in existence in Italy for some time at the date of the Letter.

The Ptolemy of 1540 breaks up the solid continent, which on the map of 1513 extends from 35° N. to 55° N. It also shows an open sea in a modified form, the land northward being called "Francisca," a name evidently recognized by the Portuguese prior to Cartier's voyage in 1534.

The influence of the Verrazano Map is next seen in the plan of a globe published by Gerard Mercator at Louvain, in 1541. This work, republished and accompanied by a celestial globe in 1551, was bought for a trifle by a representative of the Royal Library at Brussels in 1868, when the collections of M. Benoni-Verelst were disposed of at Ghent. The plans contemplated a globe about fifteen inches in diameter. It was dedicated to Nicholas Parrenat, Lord of Granville. In 1875 it was

reproduced in *fac simile* by the Belgian Government, the edition being limited to two hundred copies. Though it bears the date of 1541, the material from which it was composed belongs to an earlier period, as it makes no reference to the explorations of Cartier. The Sea of Verrazano is not indicated. The North Atlantic coast line appears to have been drawn in accordance with "some of his great globes," which Willes says (Hakluyt III, 25) "continued the West Indies, even to the North Pole, and consequently cut off all passage by sea that way." The central portion of the coast line would appear to have been copied out of the Verrazano Map, showing thereby that the map in some form was probably known to Mercator. The general plan of Mercator's globe resembles that of Vlpus, made the following year, indicating that both may have worked from a common model, one using coast lines and the other names from Verrazano. The globe of Mercator, like the Map of Verrazano, shows the Bay of New York, Long Island and the regions of Narragansett and Cape Cod. The Syrtis of Verrazano is represented differently by Mercator, showing possibly the influence of some other map. The whole region near that Syrtis is dotted to indicate the shoal water found on modern charts. The nomenclature of the map is different, and one is at loss to know upon what principle Mercator at this early period introduced some of the new names, as there is no distinct account of any voyage to the region which might have suggested them. Cape Cod appears to be indicated by "Mala-brigo," which would signify commotion or strife, the meaning being analogous to the "Bussa" of Verrazano, and the "Baturier" and "Mallebarre" of Champlain. In fact, all navigators who saw the cape incline to designate it with reference to the tumult created by the shallow water on the coast. The Island of Luisa is not laid down by Mercator, though we shall see that it appeared in his subsequent map. The Italian names of Verrazano are discarded, his work not being designed for use by people of that nation. The peninsula of Florida and the neighboring region bear names that appeared in several maps of Ptolemy, beginning with 1513. The central latitudes are also thrown too high, as in the Verrazano Map; and, to get rid of the excessive eastward projection of the latter's coast line, Mercator at the wrong point extends his coast line northward, making the part corresponding with Long Island trend in that direction, instead of toward the east. But whatever may be the deviation, there can be little doubt but that Mercator was influenced by Verrazano.

The open Western Sea of Verrazano reappears upon the globe of

Vlpius, 1542, a portion of which is given in sketch numbered V. This globe was made for Cervinus, the Cardinal Archbishop of Florence, afterwards raised to the pontificate as Marcellus II. The globe affords the clearest proof of the growing influence of Verrazano. The country is called "*Verrazana sive Nova Gallia*," having been discovered "Anno Sal. M. D." The maker of the globe probably intended to complete the date, but did not. The statement that Cervinus was unable, with all his facilities, to learn the date of the voyage is a pure invention. The names on the globe afford convincing proof that the map of Verrazano was used. Amongst the names are "Selva de Cervi," "Piaggia de Calmo," "Lungavilla," "G. di San Germanus," and "Refugium promont." A careful comparison of the map of Jehan Allefonsce of about 1552 (see sketch III.) with the maps of Verrazano, Gastaldi and Ramusio, will show that they all belong to the same family. The sketches of Allefonsce are very rude, but it is evident that his Bay of the Isles is the same as the Bay of Refuge on the map of the Florentine. The resemblance is clear when compared with the map in the Ramusio of 1556, to which reference will be made in its place. The Island of Luisa, without the name, appears to be indicated by Allefonsce, who puts the Norumbega River too far south, inserting it in the delineation which represents the region of Narragansett.

The next map to be mentioned is Ruscelli's, 1544 (Kohl's *Maine*, p. 297), which indicates the influence of Verrazano by its isthmus and Western Sea, but the author of the map falls back upon the ideas of the old geographers, who made America a part of Asia. The nomenclature of this sketch is scanty, though near latitude 40° N. is seen "Montagne Verde," a name then in general use. In his coast line, as in his general system, Ruscelli distinctly repudiates Ribero, whose alleged influence in Italy never existed. The map published by Ramusio at Venice in 1534 has been attributed either to Ribero or to the anonymous map of 1527, which, together with Ribero's map, passed into Italy at an early period. (Murphy's "Verrazano," p. 125.) This, however, is a mistake. The map upon which Ramusio based his sketch of 1534 was a map in the Museum of the Propaganda, of which a section is given herewith. Ribero was repudiated by his own countryman, Oviedo, in 1534, when that writer described the North Atlantic coast from the map of Alonzo Chaves.

A sketch from the map is given in connection with Ramusio's "*Indie Occidentali*," Venice, 1534, that the reader may make the comparison, which shows that the published map was based upon the manuscript

chart. This map is undated, but it is an early production, and no part of it has ever been published until now. A general account of it is given by Thommasy. (*Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, T. XXXV, 1855, n. s.) It is of considerable interest, apart from the present discussion, for the reason that on the line of division traced by Pope Alexander VI. on a map which divided the New World between Spain and Portugal, there is the following : *Carta divisionis Castellarum et Portugaen*. The inscription is given verbatim. The map has been considered as of Italian origin.



Here attention may be directed to the fact that our second map from the Propaganda has been referred to as the work of Verrazano.

Of this, however, no proof is given, and the error may be explained easily, though it appears in a very sumptuous and valuable work somewhat recently published at Rome, and entitled "*Studj Bibliografici*," etc. At page 358, under the year 1528, is the following: "177 [No.]. *Carta Nautica di Gerolamo Verrazzano*." This is the map of which we speak, and from which our copy was taken by the writer. At the most, we could refer nothing more than the mechanical execution of this particular map to Hieronimo. In the volume referred to, the true Verrazano Map is catalogued in its proper place.

Turning next to the Ptolemy of 1548, we find a map drawn by Gastaldi, which is the counterpart of Ruscelli's. These two cartographers worked together. This map recognizes the Sea of Verrazano, and repudiates Ribero. Another map in the same volume recognizes Verrazano *without* the open sea. It puts a cape in 40° N., taken from Ramusio's map of 1534, and incorporates northward a coast line from Verrazano, at the same time expunging the reference to the voyage of Gomez. In this map a triangular-shaped island ("Brisa") lies opposite one of the deep indentures. It bears six of the Verrazano names, three of which are peculiar to the Florentine, namely, "Angoulesme," "p. Refugio," and "Monte de Trigo." It will be observed, however, that the parts of the coast line used are removed from the central portion of the coast where they were placed, and removed to Nova Scotia, for the purpose of keeping them in the *latitude* erroneously assigned. It is evident that the Italian geographers had obtained no new knowledge of that part of the coast, and were laboring under the mistake into which they were led by the false latitudes of Hieronimo. Therefore, the delineation of the entire coast of Long Island, Rhode Island, Connecticut and Massachusetts was carried northward to the region of Cape Breton. This mistake was perpetuated by others, who had no fresh surveys of the coast to show them where the delineations in question belonged. Thus error was accumulated upon error.

To the names already given as occurring on the Verrazano Map, those of "Nurumbega" and "Brisa" may be added. The latter is intended for "Luisa." The map by Gastaldi, found in Ramusio's third volume of 1556, follows the Verrazano outline more closely, though, through a mistake of the Engraver, who blunders twice, "Brisa" becomes "Briso," while the island loses its triangular form. In the same volume of Ramusio is a map that relates to Parmentier's voyage to the East Indies, 1529, when he named three islands, respectively, "La Parmentière," "La Marguerite" and "La Louise," in honor, first of

himself, and afterwards of the sister and mother of Francis I. Two of the names appear in the map as "La lauyse" and "La formetie" (Vitel's "Histoire," II, 88). Thus the Regent had *two* islands named in her honor. Gastaldi's map of 1556 evidently was intended to illustrate the Letter of Verrazano.

Two years later, Homem, at Venice, drew a map which again recalled the Verrazano Map, through Gastaldi, and by means of the names "Monte de Trigo" and "Golesme" for "Angolesme." The Island of Luisa and the "Port of Refuge" are delineated, but their names are omitted. Again, in 1561, Ruscelli reproduced, substantially, a copy of Gastaldi's map of 1548. In these maps there is no reference to the name of Verrazano, though his voyage is recognized by the nomenclature.

We next come to Mercator's map of 1569, when the plan is found to be entirely different, this evidently being in accordance with those of his work which, according to Willes, *did* open a gulf between "the West Indies and the extreme northern line." Willes (Hakluyt, III, 25) mentions that the globes of the Italian Moletius, whom he associates with Mercator, possessed the same features. This map of 1569 shows all the new discoveries in the North, but leaves the Atlantic coast line in a poorer condition than in 1541. Mercator had now seen the map of Ruscelli and Gastaldi in the Ptolemies and in Ramusio's Collection of Voyages, and he allowed himself to be overruled by them. Accordingly he placed the indented coast and the Island of "Briso" where the mistakes of Gastaldi and Ramusio had located them, near Cape Breton, and omitted his former representations of the coast covering the line between New Jersey and New York. In the place of this he left a great bay occupying the space that should have been given to the outlines of Long Island and the New England coast. He was nevertheless true to the Verrazano idea, as expressed both in the Map and Letter. This is an important point, for he had now read the Letter and was reassured of the fact that there should be a triangular shaped island near latitude $41^{\circ} 40' N.$, also that the region should be made approachable by water from the West. He accordingly laid the island down, with Norumbega at the West, in common with Allefonsce, calling this island "Claudia," instead of Luisa, giving the name of the wife and not the mother of Francis I. The origin of the names "Briso" and "Claudia" on the map of Mercator is therefore perfectly clear. In the future this map may be remembered for its *double* representation of the Island of Luisa and the Verrazano Voyage.

Finally we proceed to England, and learn that a map was presented

to Henry VIII. by Verrazano. A sketch by Lok, based upon this map, appears in Hakluyt's "Divers Voyages" of 1582. It is numbered VIII. in our list of sketches.

In support of his theory of a northern passage, Hakluyt says in that work: "Master John Verazanus, which had been thrise on that coast, in an old and excellent mappe which he gave to King Henrie Eight, and is yet in the custodie of Master Locke, doth so lay it out as seene in the map annexed to the end of this booke, being made according to Verazanus plat." In a work lately published by the Maine Historical Society, Hakluyt also says that "there is a mightie large olde mappe in parchment, made, as yt shoulde seme, by Verarsanus, traced all alonge the coaste from Florida to Cape Briton, with many Italian names, which laieth oute the sea, makinge a little neck of lande in 40. degrees of latitude, much like the streyte necke or istnus of Dariena. This mappe is now in the custodie of Mr. Michael Locke." Again he says, "there is an olde excellent globe in the Queenes privie gallery at Westminster, which also seemeth to be of Verarsanus makinge, havinge the coaste described in Italian, which laieth oute the very selfe same streite necke of lande in the latitude of 40. degrees, with the sea joynninge harde on bothe sides, as it doth on Panama and Nombre di Dios; which were a matter of singular importannce, yf it shoulde be true, as it is not unlikely."

The map of Lok, which Hakluyt says was based upon Verrazano's, shows evidence of the Verrazano Voyage by the inscription "Mare de Verrarsana, 1524," placed over an open sea west of the isthmus in latitude 40° N. That this date was given by Lok, as several others were, is not proven, though probably true; but to say that Verrazano could not have claimed or suggested the discovery of an open sea, because no sea existed, would be indefensible, for the reason that it might be affirmed with equal propriety that Frobisher could not have claimed the discovery of an open sea leading to Cathay, though he made this claim absolutely "with vehement words, speeches and oaths," and "by the discovery of a new world, was become a second Columbus" (Calendar of Colonial S. Papers, 1513-16, p. 58). Frobisher's Strait is laid down by Lok on the map showing the Verrazano Sea, and is found on Frobisher's own curious and rare map of 1578, covering from twelve to fifteen degrees of latitude. Both of these fancied seas grew out of real voyages. That of Verrazano was in accordance with his geographical ideas, and may have been suggested by the natives, who were continually representing an open sea at the West. Popham in 1607 wrote to

King James from Sagadahoc, Maine, not only that "nutmegs and cinnamon" were found, but that the colonists were within a short distance of the Pacific. His letter, given in the *Maine Collections* (Vol. V., s. 1., p. 360), contains the following: "So far as relate to commerce, there are in these parts shagbarks, nutmegs and cinnamon, besides pine wood, and Brasilian cochineal and ambergris, with many other products of great value, and these in the greatest abundance. Besides, they positively assure me that there is a sea in the opposite or Western part of this Province, distant not more than seven days' journey from our Fort of St. George, in Sagadahoc, a sea large, wide and deep, the boundaries of which they are wholly ignorant of. This cannot be any other than the Southern Ocean, reaching to the region of China, which unquestionably cannot be far from these regions."

This notion prevailed down to a comparatively late period. In 1660 Stephenson published his "Nova Albion," containing a very curious map, in which the Hudson River is represented as running to the Pacific, while the region of Georgia is represented as no wider than the distance on the Atlantic coast from Cape Hatteras to Cape Charles.

On the space appropriated to the Pacific is written "the Sea of China and the Indies," near which is a portrait of Sir Francis Drake. The legend upon the coast is as follows:

"Sir Francis Drake was on this sea and landed An^o 1577 in 37 deg. where her tooke Possession in the name of Q: Eliza: calling it new Albion. Whose happy shoers, (in ten dayes march with 50 foote and 30 horsemen from the head of Iames River, ouer those hills and through the rich adjacent Valleys beautified with as profitable rivers, which necessarily must run into ye peacefull Indian Sea, may be discovered, to the exceeding benefit of Great Brittain, and joye of all true English." Such was the view of the English at this late period, who fancied that a tract of land not more than two hundred and fifty miles wide existed between the head of the James River and the sea. Verrazano undoubtedly believed the notion, and even may have fancied that he saw the sea. To object to the authenticity of his voyage for this reason would be idle.

In order to show the bearing of Lok's map upon the Voyage, it is necessary to consider the method of its construction. Using a copy of the Verrazano Map in some respects different, perhaps, from the Roman copy, yet substantially the same, and furnished as we know with the Italian names, Lok employed what best suited his purpose, which was the illustration of his theory of a western passage to Cathay, at the same time introducing fancied improvements. Following the in correct rep-

resentation of Cape Breton, he nevertheless amended all the latitudes, while the outline of the New England coast is noticeable for its resemblance to Gastaldi's, evidently drawn from a copy of the Verrazano Map, possessing variations similar to those on the map of Henry VIII. The island of Gastaldi, called "Briso" through the fault of the engraver, is called "Claudia" by Lok; but the *relative position* is the same in both maps, the island lying west of the Gulf of Refuge, which contains other islands, with two separate islands eastward, while further west is the region called, on the other maps, "Angouleme." Lok, like Gastaldi, makes Norumbega insular. Lok changes names, but delineates the corresponding *things*. He changes the shape and position assigned to the island of Luisa by Mercator, though he adopts the name of Claudia, instead of Luisa. He also rejects the error of Mercator in duplicating the island. Lok understood perfectly well that the two islands, called by Mercator Claudia and Briso, were the same. He indeed supposes that Claudia was the correct name for the mother of Francis, but Hakluyt knew that Lok was in error; and, in the margin of the Verrazano Letter, says, "Claudia was the wife of King Francis," thus correcting Lok, not Verrazano. Therefore, until it can be shown that not only the *name* of Luisa but the *island itself* was wanting in the map of Henry VIII, it will be useless to deny that that map, like the Propaganda copy, contained a clear recognition of the Voyage.

If it should be said that Lok *did* take the island, as well as the name, from Mercator, it may also be said that he copied the Azores from Mercator, and therefore that the Azores were not in the map of Henry VIII. It is too late now, however, to pursue such a line of disputation, as the reality of the influence of the Verrazano Map throughout a long period is something that in the future may not be denied.

It remains to make few observations concerning the nomenclature of the map, which, however, will demand continued study in the future. The names are about one hundred in number, and some of them are repeated, in accordance with the practice of old cartographers. On the Florida section the influence of the names on the map of 1513 is noticeable. Several of the names are not easily explained, though "Olimpo" is probably Cape Olimpe, in Cyprus. "La Victoria" is a name used upon the South America portion of the map. It is a reminiscence of Magellan. Proceeding up the coast, it will be perceived that various names are suggested by the Letter of the Navigator, and have a manifest fitness. Near the Gulf of St. Lawrence is "Baia Sancti di Ioanni." At this point the map of Allefonsce has a relation to that of Verrazano,

showing "Isle de Saint Johan." Some of the names of the Newfoundland section are not quite legible on the original map, and where doubtful readings occur, they have been indicated. The significance of the most of the names, however, is apparent at a glance; "farilhan" being the "Farralones," or detached rocks, a name found in every part of the world in various forms, but with a single meaning. "Monte de Trigo," is the Spanish for wheat. In the voyage of Cartier (Hakluyt, III, 213) there is a reference to this mountain, described as a "hill like a heap of corn." Fuoco is Fire Island.

About twenty of the names found on the central portions of the coast are French, more or less disguised in an Italian dress. But the author soon perceived the fact that they were taken from a route of travel across France from Dieppe to La Rochelle, a route with which Hieronimo was acquainted, as it is sufficiently evident that he passed some time in France, probably in attending to the interests of his brother. Beginning at Dieppe, the route passes Longueville and St. George, touches at Rouen, where Giovanni had provided for the recognition of Jerome, his "brother and heir," as his commissioner and "attorney." Thence the road runs direct to San Germano, or St. Germain-en-laye, the favorite residence of Francis I., whose name was associated with the principal places mentioned. The Forest of St. Germaine, one of the largest in France, was perhaps in mind when Hieronimo wrote "La Foresta" upon his map, though at the same time he must have remembered the splendid forests described in the Letter. "Lamuetto" may have been suggested by the *muette*, or famous kennel built by Francis I. in the forest, though a village of the name still exists. "Belvidere" might perhaps recall the terrace of St. Germaine, which commands the celebrated view of Paris. "Casino," or the little house, if one were inclined to indulge the imagination, might have referred to one of the pavillions,¹ but Casino is also connected with San Germano in Italy. Selva de Cervi recalls the deer parks of Francis in the "Selva Ledia," as well as the deer parks of America. Around St. Germaine the two brothers may have lingered from time to time, awaiting the decisions of Francis respecting the expeditions that interested him so greatly.

Next the route passes to Vendome, a place famous for its connection with the family of Francis I.; thence on by the way of St. Anne, St. Savin and Mont Morrillon, the latter signifying the black grape, which appears to have been translated into the Italian "Morrelo," or nightshade. Afterwards Nantiat is reached—in the map called Lanun-

tiate, which may refer also to the festival of the Annunciation, which occurred while Giovanni was on the coast. Thence the road touches Angoulême, the birth place of Francis, who was called by Louis XII. "Le gros garçon d'Angoulême." Next we find St. Savinien and Aux-pruneles, conducting to La Rochelle, the Navigator being described by Herrera as "Florin de la Rochelle." Names like San Siano and San Gorgio doubtless had Italian connections, yet it is curious to observe how these names, taken together, indicate the route between the two great seaports of France. The nomenclature, therefore, is similar to what might have been expected from an Italian some time resident in France, where, in the sunshine of royal favor, Hieronimo probably compiled his map, at the same time attending to the interests of his brother. The Navigator's "little book" doubtless afforded suggestions to Jerome. "Le figla di navarra" appears to refer to the King of Navarre, the husband of Margurite of Angoulême, sister of Francis I. It might also be considered a recognition of Margurite herself, as she was acquainted with American exploration, and based one of her stories upon incidents in the voyage of Roberval.*

This same route of travel is indicated upon the globe of Vlpius, 1542, which was copied from the Verrazano Map. In this series we have the additional names of Normanvilla, near Dieppe, and Port Royal, the home of the Jansenists favored by Margurite; while on Ramusio's map of 1556 is found "Paradis," the name of Margurite's Hebrew teacher.

Ramusio in 1553 said that Oviedo (who rejected Ribero) and some "excellent Frenchmen" had sent maps to Italy, and that they would be put in their proper place with some reports of New France, amongst which no doubt was the Verrazano Letter. The reports were not printed until three years after, and possibly other maps were in the meanwhile acquired. But whether so or not, a sketch of the Verrazano Map was used in the map of 1556. Jerome doubtless left sketches with the French navigators. In this connection it must, however, be observed that the use of the Verrazano Map by Ramusio was anticipated no less than *fourteen years* by the Florentine globe maker. It is, therefore, probable that the drawings, which appeared to have been received by Ramusio about the year 1553, were those which related to Cartier. The sketch published by him in 1556 makes no mention of Cartier, while the fact that Canada is left blank shows that it was drawn at an early period, before that region was known. We, therefore, may claim Ramusio's map, in one sense, as a Verrazano Map.

Some of the sketches by the "excellent Frenchmen" were used in France, simultaneously with their appearance in Italy, in 1542. The great map of Henry II. (see Jomard's Atlas) bears eight of the Verrazano names in a modified form, as follows: C. du Mont, R. des canoes, R. de bône Viste, Les Germaines, Auorobaga, C. de longue, R. hermofo, Môt de trigo. To these might be added; R. des Palmes and R. de bône mere. The maker of this map appears to have known of the "Syrtis" of Verrazano.

Dr. Kohl, not being acquainted with the Verrazano Map, did not understand the origin of Ramusio's, while for the same reason others have made the most of what was supposed to be a fact, namely, that the French map of 1542, drawn in the time of Francis I., contained no reminiscence of the Voyage of Verrazano. The identification of these names, however, should moderate the objector's zeal.

Botero (*Ralationi Universali*, ed. 1640, p. 173) says that the French gave the names "porto del refugio, Porto reale, il Paradiso, Flora, Angoleme." It would thus appear that he had seen a Verrazano Map, or the globe of Vlpus, and perhaps both. The authority for his statement is not given, but whether he had any authority or not, it is sufficiently true, since the names resulted from a French voyage.

With this brief description and defense of the Map of Verrazano, we rest the present discussion. In treating of the names we have confined ourselves to those found upon the North American portions. In due time it is to be hoped that the entire map may be produced in *fac simile*, since it merits at least that much attention on the part of geographers. No subsequent examination of the Map, however, will be likely to render the American names much clearer. Acids applied to the parchment might perhaps make the orthography of several words a little more distinct, but those about which there can be any real doubt are beyond question quite unimportant. Our own readings have been confirmed by the independent judgment of two very competent ecclesiastics and scholars, resident at Rome, to whom the writer is indebted for his introduction to the priceless maps of the Borghian Museum of the Propaganda. The reader may not therefore look forward to any substantial improvement in the rendering of the coast names upon the Verrazano sketch accompanying this discussion. The modern student now for the first time sees before his eyes, "traced all along the coaste from Florida to Cape Britton," the "many Italian names" that met the wondering gaze of Henry VIII., of Michael Lok and Richard Hakluyt, as they bent over the "mightie large olde mappe" which, as the latter

informs us, was made by Verrazano. Whether the copy preserved at Rome is the original map or not, it may now be difficult to determine. If not original, is beyond doubt a fair copy of a very early date. That a copy was presented to Henry VIII. can no longer be questioned. There is found on the map the kind of ships, with both sails and oars, that were built in the Breton ports at the time (July 12, 1522), when Andrew, Bishop of Murray, Scotland, according to Gaillard (*Histoire François Premier, VII, 223-4*), exhorted Francis I. to make himself master of the sea; but what is more to the point, a variety of facts and arguments concur in proving that Hakluyt's testimony is true, and that we have before us a copy of a very ancient document, marked by all the peculiarities of authenticity. The historic world may, therefore, possibly incline to believe that it has not waited until now in vain for the Propaganda to yield up its testimony to the Voyage of Verrazano.

In closing we desire to call attention to a few points which have been substantiated in discussing the Letter, the Voyage and the Map. With respect to the Letter, it has been made to appear that it certainly existed in two version—Ramusio's and Carli's—and probably in French and Spanish; strong reasons even lead to the conclusion that the original version was written in French. Again, by a comparison of texts, the charges against Ramusio have been dissipated. With respect to the date of the Letter, the discussion yields fresh proof, and establishes the fact that it was written at the period claimed. Now, also, that the contents of the Map are known, we are able to prove that the Map was based upon the Letter; and since a copy of the Map itself was presented to Henry VIII. by Giovanni da Verrazano, the Letter must have existed prior to 1527-8; thus disposing of the theory that it was the work of a forger near 1540-5. In dealing with the Voyage, it has been shown that it could not have been deduced from the map of Ribero, 1527, as physical impossibilities interfered; the same also being apparent from the fact just stated, that the Letter preceded the Map presented to Henry VIII., 1527-8, and, therefore, that both Letter and Map described the Voyage before the work of Ribero existed. The internal evidence of the Letter to the authenticity of the Voyage has also been developed, showing the inaccuracy of the charge that the descriptions of the country and people found in the Letter do not agree with what actually existed; since it has been shown that the accounts are at variance with those of untravelled European writers of those times, and convey facts that could have been gleaned only by an actual voyager, like Verrazano, in sailing along the coast, the descriptions often being so striking as to be copied

by subsequent adventurers, and being full, also, with respect to those parts of the coast of which nothing was known.

The genesis of the Map has likewise been pointed out for the first time, and the chart of Hieronimo da Verrazano takes its proper place in the old Cartology within about three years of the date of the Voyage; while its influence upon later maps has been rendered apparent in a way that was impossible before the Verrazano coast names were made known. Thus, at every point, there is exhibited the action of a strong and intelligent mind in free communication with the new world, and we therefore claim that Verrazano is Vindicated.

B. F. DE COSTA

¹ This is now published for the first time, the copy having been made for the writer by authorization of the Prefect of Rouen.

² *Géographie du Moyen Age*, vol. ii, p. 145, and the Chart, numbered 118, in the Atlas. Also, see "Examen Critique," vol. iv, pp. 116-18.

³ It is given in a modified form, and the north-east portion, called "Terra de Lavoratore," is formed according to the Map of Cosa, or from some map that agreed with Cosa's. But why did Bordone adopt Zeno's Greenland as America? To explain this fully would require more space than can be given to the subject at present, and it must suffice to say that in 1521 the knowledge of Old Greenland had been lost (Northmen in Maine, p. 38) and Zeno's account of that country was partially discredited, the view given by Ptolemy being adopted by Bordone, as later, and consequently the more reliable. Both the pre and post-Columbian editions of Ptolemy made Greenland a part of Europe, pushing out into the sea from Norway. Bordone followed this conception, thinking that Zeno was wrong in placing the name of Greenland upon the countries at the west. That he actually saw the Zeno map in 1521 or earlier is not only evident from the outlines of his own map, filled in with mountains after the style of Zeno, but also from his drawing of Iceland, or "Islanda." The style of the letters forming the word "Islanda" are exactly like those of Zeno, and the curious and convincing fact is that Bordone uses the same style of letter in *no other map*. Whoever examines this subject will find the most decided proof that Bordone was familiar with the Zeno Chart in 1521, which overturns the theory that that map was a forgery of the period of 1558. Bordone's, which shows a strait opening through the Western Continent, near the latitude of the Azores, marked "Stretto pte del módo novo;" "the strait, part of the New World." The region south of this strait bore the title of the New World, which had been laid open by the Spaniards, it being thus conceded by him that Zeno made the discovery of land at the West. The testimony of Bordone is all the more valuable, for the reason that it is *indirect*. This geographer makes no allusion to Zeno, and evidently had not seen his narrative, though familiar with the map.

⁴ The Italian photographer of the Verrazano Map gave one of these names, written upon the photograph, as "p. dara Flor," which might be interpreted "punta de la Florida;" but our own reading is "p. daraptor," probably a mangling of "C. delitontir on the map of 1513, which, in turn, was a false reading of "C. elecant," or "Aliconto." "Lamulette" once appears as "bomuetto," an error easily recognized.

⁵ Geographers must keep clear of Fluellen at Agincourt (Henry V., A. iv, s. 5). "I warrant you shall find in the comparisons between Macedon and Monmouth that the situations, look you, is both alike. There is a river at Macedon, and there is also moreover a river at Monmouth; it is called Wye at Monmouth, but it is out of my prains what is the name of the other river, but 'tis all one; 'tis alike as my fingers is to my fingers, and there is salmons in both."

⁶ "Heptameron," Story, lxvii, relates the alleged experience of a wife left with her husband by Roberval on a desert island. It was vulgarized and adopted by Thevet. "Cosmographie Universelle," ii, p. 1019. See also Harrise's "Notes," etc.

CHAMPLAIN'S EXPEDITION OF 1615

REPLY TO DR. SHEA AND GENERAL CLARK

The first number of this magazine (Jan., 1877) contains an article on the Expedition of Champlain against the Onondagas, in 1615. It was founded on a communication read before the New York Historical Society in March, 1849, in which I had discussed the evidences which exist as to the route of the expedition, and the site of the Iroquois fort which it besieged. My position having been questioned by several eminent historians, who claimed a more western location for the fort, the main object of my last article was to fortify my former conclusions. In it I endeavored to trace Champlain's route across Lake Ontario to its south shore, and from thence to his objective point. While my location of the fort in the Onondaga, rather than the Seneca Country, has generally been approved, some difference of opinion is entertained as to its exact site, as well as to the precise route by which it was reached.

General James S. Clark, of Auburn, in a paper read before the Buffalo and New York Historical Societies, and Georges Geddes, Esq., of Camillus, in an article in the last September number of this magazine, vol. I., p. 521, while they agree that the site was in the Onondaga Country, dissent from my views in other particulars. Dr. John Gilmary Shea, in a recent article in the Penn Historical Magazine, vol. II., p. 103, coincides in the main with General Clark. I am glad that a writer of Dr. Shea's ability has taken the field. I have read his paper attentively, and fail to see that it has disproved any of my main positions.

It may be proper to state that General Clark's address, thus reviewed and endorsed by Dr. Shea, has never been published. It was delivered before the above societies during my absence in Europe. Since my return, I have endeavored, without success, to obtain a copy. I can only judge of its contents from the references in Dr. Shea's review. That the General is accurately quoted therein, may be inferred from his having reproduced the article, with verbal corrections, in an Auburn journal.

In a published address, delivered last September before the Pioneers' Association at Syracuse, General Clark stated the conclusions to which his investigations had led him, but gave no facts or arguments to support them. In doing so, he used the following emphatic language:

"I claim especially to understand the record of Champlain by following his narrative *verbatim et literatim*, and accepting his estimates of distances, his map and illustrations. I stand on no uncertain ground. I understand this question thoroughly. I know that I am right. I desire no misunderstanding on this question. I take the affirmative and throw down the gauntlet to all comers; and if any choose to enter the list, I have the most unbounded confidence that it will not be me that will be borne from the field discomfited. I identify the site as certainly as any gentleman present can identify his wife at the breakfast table after ten years of married life," etc., etc.

It is to be regretted that General Clark has not accompanied his challenge, so forcibly stated, with the proofs and reasons on which he relies. The public could then judge whether such historians as O'Callaghan, Parkman, Broadhead, Laverdière and his neighbor Geddes are, as he asserts, mistaken in their conclusions. It is quite evident that General Clark is an enthusiast in his *Study of Aboriginal History*. A certain amount of zeal may be desirable in the investigation of such subjects, but conscientious convictions, however decidedly entertained, are not always in harmony with just conclusions. It is only by patient and candid investigation, by comparing, weighing and sifting the evidence, that historical truth can be elicited.

I will consider in their order: *First*. The authenticity and accuracy of the map. *Second*. The starting point of the Expedition on Lake Ontario. *Third*. The route across the Lake. *Fourth*. The landing on the south shore. *Fifth*. The march on the beach. *Sixth*. The inland route to the Fort. *Seventh*. The location of the Fort.

THE AUTHENTICITY AND ACCURACY OF THE MAP.—In order to account for the many manifest discrepancies between Champlain's text of 1619 and the map annexed to the edition of 1632, I suggested that the map and the latter edition were not the work of Champlain and never passed under his personal supervision. I gave my reasons for this opinion on pages 5 and 6, vol. I, of this magazine.

Dr. Shea replies to this, that "the map is evidently Champlain's, and he was too good a hydrographer for us to reject his map as a guide for parts he actually visited." This, however, is assuming the authenticity of the map, the very point in issue, without noticing the objections I advanced. If the map were actually constructed by Champlain, it is of course competent evidence, without however being conclusive where it differs from the text. It is not possible, however, to reconcile the two. Where they disagree, one or the other must yield, and in accordance with well settled rules of evidence, the text must govern.

The most competent critics who have examined the edition of 1632, to which alone the map is annexed, including Laverdière, Margry and Harris, agree that it bears internal evidence of having been compiled, by a foreign hand, from the various editions previously published. No map accompanied the original narrative of the expedition, published in 1619.

I claim that by inspection and comparison with reliable topographical maps of the country traversed by Champlain, no ingenuity can torture the dotted line on the chart into an accurate representation of the route he pursued, as described in his text. The discrepancies will be indicated, as the various points on the route are passed in review.

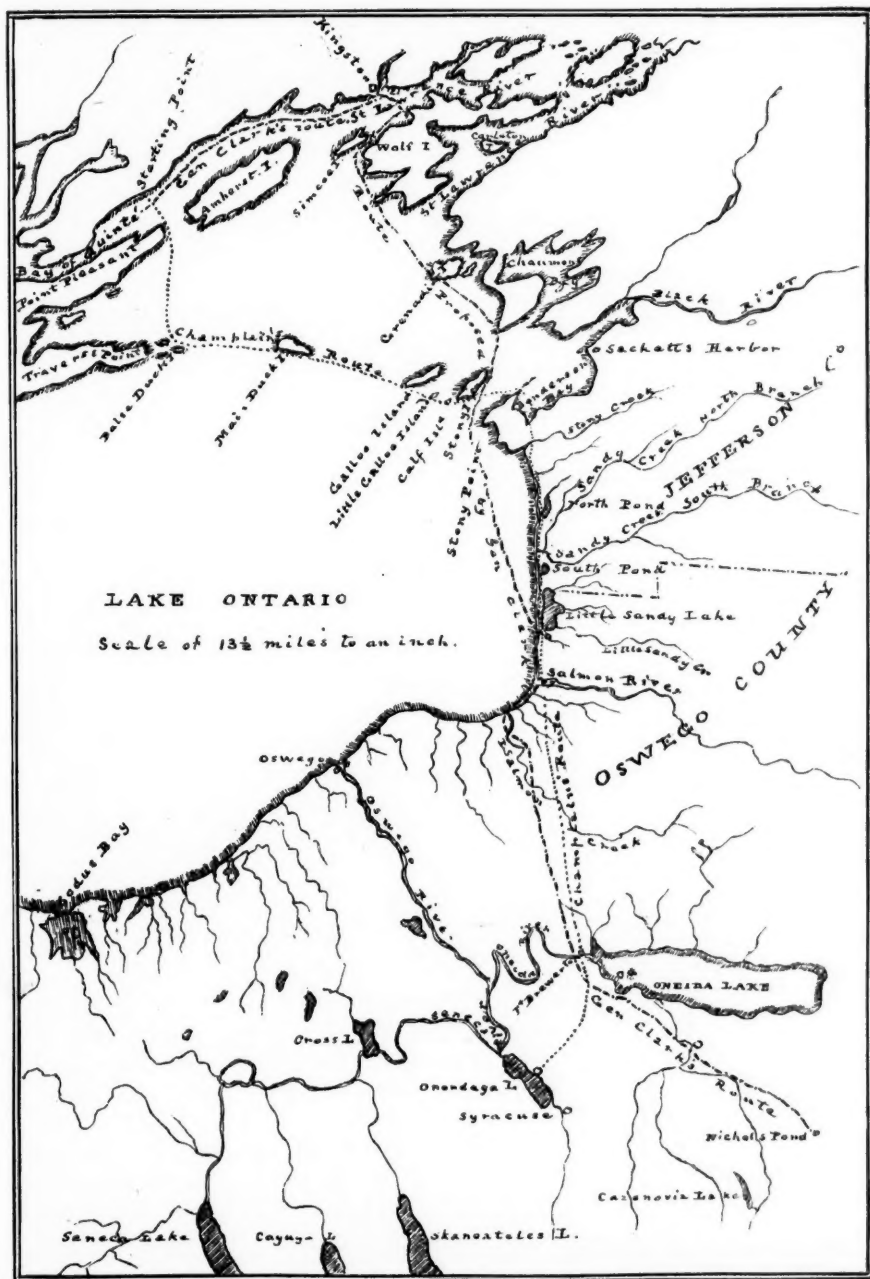
I trust my readers will follow my argument with the Champlain *fac-simile*, which is annexed to my article in Vol. I of this magazine, and a reliable chart of the easterly end of Lake Ontario. All my measurements are taken from the Lake Survey Charts, recently published by the United States Government, and the most reliable maps attainable of Jefferson, Oswego, Onondaga and Madison counties.

THE STARTING POINT.—The narrative states that the expedition descended what is now known as Trent River, which empties into Lake Ontario, and after short days' journeys, reached the border of Lake Ontario. It then proceeds. I give the original French, as Champlain's works are quite rare, and copy from the edition of 1619, modernizing the old French orthography: "où etans, nous fimes la traverse en l'un des bouts, tirant à l'orient, qui est l'entrée de la grande rivière St. Laurens, par la hauteur de quarante-trois degrés de latitude, où il y a de belles îles fort grandes en ce passage."

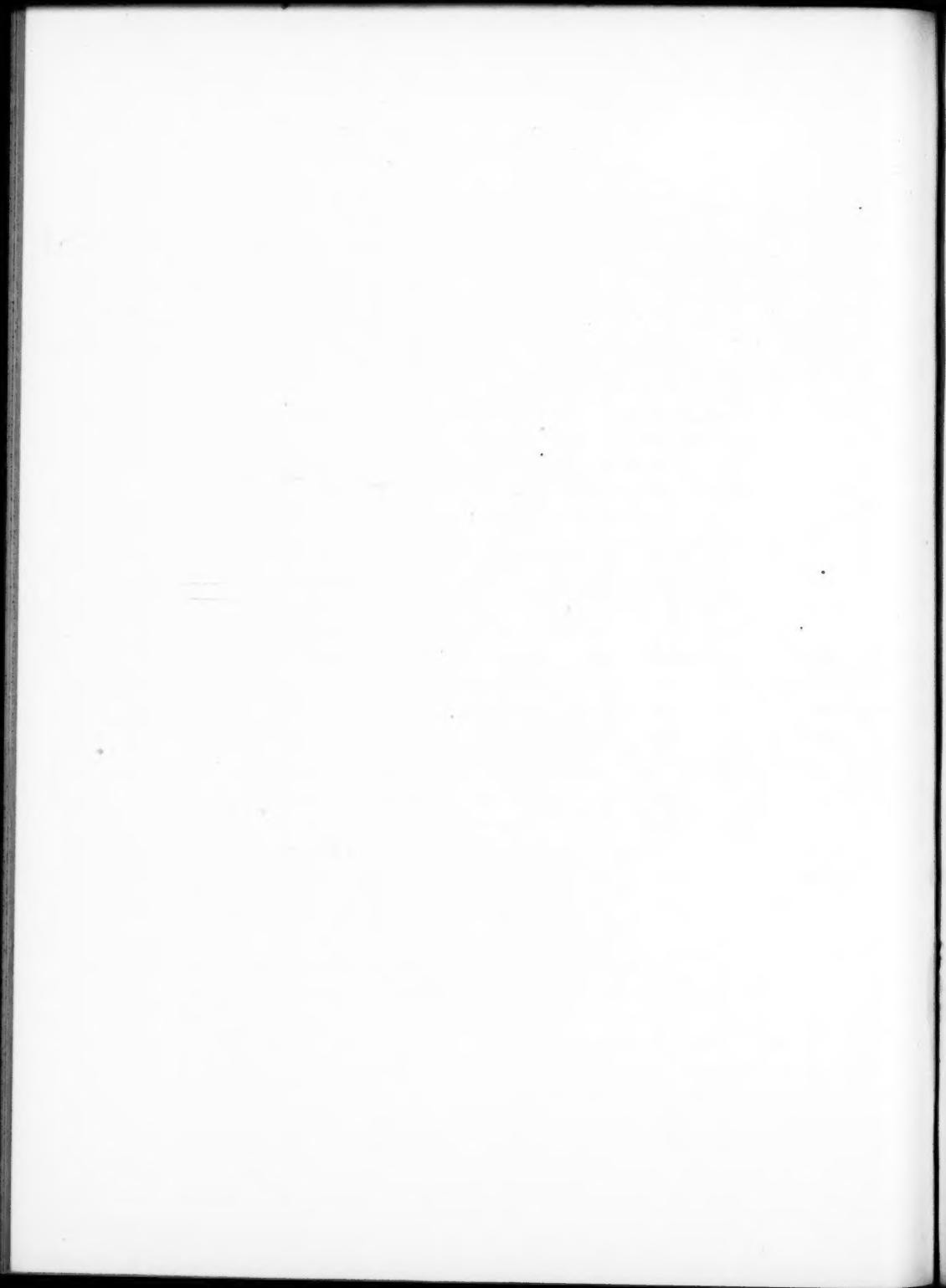
Where then was the starting point of the expedition? Gen. Clark says "Kingston." Dr. Shea says, "from a peninsula beyond (east of?) Quinté Bay, on the north shore," agreeing with Gen. Clark that it must have been at Kingston. There is some confusion among geographers as to the extent of Quinté Bay. Some represent it as reaching to Kingston.

Quinté Bay proper, according to the best authorities, extends no farther eastward than the eastern extremity of Prince Edward Peninsula, called Point Pleasant. It is often called the River Trent, being as it were an extension of that stream.

Champlain evidently considered, and correctly so, that when he had passed Point Pleasant, he had arrived at the Lake. He says that the river he descended "forms the passage into the lake," and a little farther on, "we traveled by short days' journeys as far as the border of Lake Ontario, where having arrived, we crossed," &c.



ROUTE OF THE CHAMPLAIN EXPEDITION—1615



Having fixed the starting point at Kingston, Gen. Clark claims that from thence he "ran east a distance not given, thence southerly to a point fourteen leagues (35 miles) from the commencement of the River St. Lawrence." Champlain says, the *crossing* embraced fourteen leagues. How the starting point at Kingston, much less the extension of the route eastward from Kingston, is "reconciled with the map," does not appear.

I claimed the starting point to have been opposite the eastern end of Point Pleasant, and in this I am sustained by both map and text.

According to the text, the crossing began as soon as they reached the lake, and that occurred when they passed out of the river (or bay) at Point Pleasant. Champlain does not say that they went an inch east of that Point. I quite agree with Dr. Shea's translation of the words "*tirant à l'orient*," and of the passage in which it occurs. Those words have no reference to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, but to the *end of the lake* which he crossed.

"Having arrived at the borders of the lake, we crossed," he says, "one of its extremities which, extending eastward, forms the entrance of the great River St. Lawrence; in 43 degrees of latitude, where there are very large beautiful islands on the passage." I suggested this interpretation some months ago to the Superintendent of the translation of Champlain's Voyages of 1603, 1613 and 1619, now being made for the Prince Society. I am inclined to believe that General Clark's extension of the route eastward to Kingston, originated in a mistranslation of those words. His construction of the route certainly requires "*tirant à l'orient*" to refer to the *direction* pursued by Champlain, which is in conflict with Dr. Shea's translation, while the route I propose is in entire harmony with it.

Dr. Shea further says, "That Champlain was actually at the head of the St. Lawrence, of which he gives the latitude, seems almost certain. For one who had founded a trading settlement on the lower river, the examination and exact locating of the head of the river, when he was so near it, seem imperatively demanded."

It must be remembered, however, that Champlain was on a war expedition, aided by only a few of his own countrymen, with several hundred Huron and Algonkin warriors, approaching a hostile country. Under such circumstances he would hardly have gone so far east, and so much out of his way, to make geographical or hydrographical observations, either during a cautious approach or a hurried retreat.

Although Champlain gives the latitude of the entrance of the river, instead of that furnishing an argument in favor of his having been there,

its effect is directly the reverse, for the latitude which he records at forty-three degrees is quite erroneous, and would place the entrance as far South as Syracuse. The true latitude is $44^{\circ} 6'$, a difference of over a degree. A gross error for a Captain in the French marine to make from actual observation.

THE ROUTE ACROSS THE LAKE.—If I am right in fixing the starting point opposite Point Pleasant, it would follow, both from the text and the map, that the route extended southerly, between that point and Amherst Island, to the False Ducks, and along the Main Duck, Gallo, and Stony Islands, which stretch across the lake in the direction of Stony Point. That this was the course pursued may be inferred from the following considerations:

First. On examining the Champlain map, the line indicating the route starts from the northern shore of the lake, and passes directly south between Point Pleasant and the first island easterly therefrom, which would correspond with Amherst Island. The next island on the map east of Amherst Island would correspond with Simcoe Island, and the next, lying in the entrance of the river, would correspond with Wolf or Long Island. These three islands constitute all that are represented on the map as lying in the east end of the lake, except those along which I claim that the expedition crossed.

Now if, as claimed by General Clark, the crossing was along Simcoe, Wolf and Grenadier Islands, which closely hug the eastern shore of the lake, then those islands would have been so represented on the map. The chain of islands along which they did pass, as shown by the dotted line, are laid down at some distance from the eastern shore. If it be claimed that the map refers to the inner ones lying close to the eastern shore, then the outer chain, equally conspicuous and in plain sight of the others, are not represented at all. To a party crossing the outer or western chain, the islands lying in-shore would scarcely be distinguishable from the adjacent land, while the outer chain, with nothing behind them but the open lake, could easily be seen from the inner islands. I am aware that the dotted line on the map exhibits a general southerly course, but the expedition, following the islands indicated by me, fulfills the conditions of the text, by crossing from the north to the south side of the lake, and for nearly a third of the way on a due south course. The map is on an exceedingly small scale, rudely drawn and nowhere preserves with any accuracy the points of compass in representing either the crossing of the lake, or the inland route as claimed by General Clark. Where the map and text are irreconcilable, the former must be rejected. It

could not be expected that a chart, 33 inches long by 20 inches wide, embracing a territory extending from Newfoundland to Lake Superior, and from the frozen ocean to the Carolinas, could exhibit a route like that traveled by Champlain, on a scale of sixty miles to the inch, without presenting numerous discrepancies. They are so gross, even in those places actually visited by Champlain, that it is difficult to see how he could possibly have been its author. It was not drawn in reference to this special expedition of 1615, but to illustrate all his voyages in America.

Second. Champlain says, on arriving at the northern bank of the lake, "Nous fimes la traverse"—"we crossed it." He does not intimate that he *coasted* along its northern border for 22 miles, and then again around its eastern shore. Effect must be given to the expression, "We crossed it." *Third.* Champlain gives the distance he consumed in crossing as fourteen leagues, or thirty-five miles. "Nous fimes environ quatorze lieues pour passer jusques à l'autre coté du lac, tirant au sud, vers les terres des ennemis." The actual distance by the way of the Ducks, Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands to Stony Point, where they would first reach land, is $38\frac{1}{2}$ miles. To Henderson Bay it is 44 miles; to Stony Creek Cove, 42 miles; to Little Sandy Lake, $53\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The actual distance from the same starting point, via Kingston and Simcoe, Wolf, Grenadier and Stony Islands, to Little Sandy Lake, is 70 miles, and from Kingston, $48\frac{1}{2}$ miles.

From this it appears that the actual distances on all the supposed routes exceed in each instance Champlain's estimate. It will be noticed, however, that the excess is the greatest on the route claimed by General Clark. The probabilities, therefore, so far as relates to the length of the crossing, as given by Champlain, are in favor of the route I have suggested. *Fourth.* The expedition, coming from the west, would naturally use the shortest route to reach its destination. That parties were accustomed to cross by the chain of Ducks, Galloo, Calf and Stony Islands, is substantiated by the traditions of the Canada Indians. Hence, the point on the peninsula from which they embarked, was named by the French voyageurs, Point Traverse, and is so called to this day. The islands lying along the eastern shore of the lake were used by Indians and voyageurs ascending or descending the St. Lawrence.

THE LANDING.—I suggested in my article that the expedition probably landed in the secluded cove now known as Henderson Bay, sheltered by Stony Point. Not that the text or map of Champlain indicates that, or any other particular place with any certainty, but

First. Because it appeared a convenient and appropriate locality.

It did not seem probable that Champlain, accompanied by so large an army, would boldly land on an enemy's shore, exposed to observation for twenty miles in two directions, with scarcely a hope of successfully concealing the canoes which were so essential for his return voyage. *Second.* Because Henderson Bay, long previous to the settlement of the country, had been a favorite landing place for the Indians passing to and from Canada, as is well attested by tradition. The name of "Indian Wharf" still bears witness to the fact. A portage road led from the landing to Stony Creek, called by the French the "*rivière à Monsieur le Comte.*" That the expedition landed there, was a mere suggestion derived from the probabilities of the case. I do not insist upon it. In good weather an equally favorable landing could have been made in the small cove at the mouth of Stony Creek, though not so secluded from observation. It is not possible, from the meagre details of the narrative, to state with any certainty, much less to prove the exact point of landing. That it took place at Little Sandy Lake, selected by General Clark, is not probable, and for the following reasons:

Assuming for the present what I expect to prove in the sequel—that the expedition followed the sandy beach of the lake no farther south than Salmon River, where it left for the interior—we must look, according to the text of Champlain, for the following conditions between the places where he landed and where he left for the interior.

THE MARCH ON THE BEACH. — Champlain says: "*Les sauvages cachèrent tous leurs canaux dans les bois, proche du rivage. Nous fîmes par terre quelques quatre lieues sur une plage de sable, ou je remarquai un pays fort agreable et beau, traversé de plusieurs petits ruisseaux, et deux petites rivières, qui se dechargent au susdit lac, et force etangs et prairies.*" "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore. We proceeded by land about four leagues over a sandy beach, where I observed a very agreeable and beautiful country, intersected by many small brooks and two small rivers which empty into the said lake, and many lakelets and meadows."

On referring to the map, we find it furnishes nothing in addition to the above, except it represents three small bodies of water as lying along the route parallel with the shore, which are undoubtedly those referred to by Champlain under the name of "Etangs." There are still existing three such collections of water between Stony Point and Salmon River, two of which are known by the name of North and South ponds, and the largest by the name of Little Sandy Lake. The latter is about 3,000 acres in extent. Dr. Shea says: "General Clark identifies the

three small lakes noted on the map, as North and South Ponds, in Jefferson County, and Little Sandy Lake." But if Champlain landed at Little Sandy Lake as claimed by General Clark, he would not have passed by North and South Ponds, as they lie north of that landing. The probabilities exist, therefore, that the landing took place farther north, and either in Henderson Bay, or at the mouth of Stony Creek, as before stated.

Dr. Shea says: "Mr. Marshall holds that the expedition passed Salmon River. The next stream is Salmon Creek, which Mr. Marshall holds is the Oswego." Dr. Shea has entirely misunderstood me in this particular. I claimed that the expedition left the lake at Salmon River. I did not even name Salmon Creek, nor did I state that the expedition ascended or even saw the Oswego River. I said that it crossed from the mouth of Salmon River to the outlet of Oneida Lake, and from thence passed to the fort, distant four leagues from the fishery.

One reason I gave for discrediting the map was that the dotted line seemed to enter the "Oswego River," that being the only stream having numerous lakes at its sources; but I distinctly averred that such a route was "highly improbable, unnecessarily circuitous, and could not possibly be reconciled with the text of Champlain." Vol. I, p. 6 of this magazine.

THE INLAND ROUTE.—My reasons in favor of the mouth of the Salmon River as the point of departure for the interior are as follows:

First. It is the southernmost and last point on the lake in the direct line of travel between Stony Point and the foot of Oneida Lake. The mouth of Salmon Creek lies west of that line, requiring a detour that would increase the travel without affording any corresponding advantage. *Second.* The mouth of Salmon River—the *Otihatangué* of the early French maps—has always been a noted place in Indian history. It is mentioned on the oldest Ms. maps of the Jesuit missionaries found in the French Archives at Paris. A trail is laid down on several of said maps, running direct from that point to the great fishery, called "Techiroguen." Franquelin, the celebrated geographer to Louis XIV., in his "*Carte du pays des Iroquois*" of 1679, calls the trail "*Chemin de Techiroguen à la Famine*." La Famine was a name applied by the Jesuits to the mouth of the Salmon River, in allusion to the sufferings experienced there by Monsieur Du Puys and his companions, in July, 1656, from want of provisions. It has generally been called by later writers, "*Cahihonoüaghé*," which may be a dialectical variation from *Otihatangué*. A Ms. map of 1679, says: "it is the place where the most of the Iroquois and Loups

land to go on the Beaver trade at New York." It is evidently an Onondaga word, and is given by Morgan as "*Gä-hen-wä'-ga*." It bears a strong resemblance to the name applied to the place by Pouchot and other writers. There is, therefore, little doubt but what the expedition left the lake for the interior from this well known point of debarkation. *Third.* Champlain says: "Tous les canaux etans ainsi cachez, nous laissames le rivage du lac," etc. "All the canoes being thus concealed we left the border of the lake," etc. Dr. Shea thinks that the text implies that the canoes were twice concealed. I do not so understand it. If all were concealed on landing, there would be none left to conceal at the end of the march on the beach. The second statement, "All our canoes being thus concealed," is, therefore, but a repetition of the first expression, "The Indians concealed all their canoes in the woods near the shore." *Fourth.* Champlain's description of his route after leaving the lake, is quite brief and unsatisfactory. "Nous continuames notre chemin par terre, environ 25 ou 30 lieuës: Durant quatre journées nous traversames quantité de ruisseaux, et une rivière, procedante d'un lac qui se decharge dans celui des Entouhonorons. Ce lac est de l'etendue de 25 ou 30 lieuës de circuit, où il y a de belles iles, et est le lieu où les Iroquois ennemis font leur peche de poisson, qui est en abondance."

"We continued our way by land about 25 or 30 leagues. During four days we crossed numerous brooks and a river flowing from a lake which empties into Lake Ontario. This lake is 25 or 30 leagues in circumference, contains beautiful islands, and is the place where the hostile Iroquois catch their fish, which are in abundance." It will be noticed that no mention is made of any of the lakes which are so conspicuously laid down on the map, contiguous to the dotted line, except Oneida Lake. On the 9th of October, the Indians met and captured eleven of the enemy, who were going to the fishery, distant 4 leagues from the enemy's fort.

The expedition reached the fort at 3 o'clock in the afternoon of the 10th. There is nothing in the *text* of Champlain to indicate the site of the fort, except its situation near an unfailing body of water, which Champlain calls "*un etang*." Dr. Shea translates it "pond," that being its primitive signification. But as used by Champlain and other French writers of the 17th century, it has a more enlarged signification, having reference, in numerous instances, to a small lake. Those which are laid down on the Champlain map opposite the route along the sandy beach above referred to, are called "*etangs*" by Champlain. One of them is admitted by General Clark to be "Little Sandy Lake." Bouil-

let says in his *Dictionnaire des Sciences, etc.*, "*Etangs naturels*" are small lakes of fresh water, produced by rains or springs." Lake Pontchartrain, near New Orleans, 40 miles long by 24 broad, is called "*un etang*" by La Salle in 1685.

There is therefore no such limitation to the meaning of the word *etang*, as to render it inapplicable to a lake as large as Onondaga. Champlain, having recently passed through Lakes Huron and Ontario, would very naturally apply a diminutive term to so small a body of water.

THE LOCATION OF THE FORT.—It is utterly impossible, from the Champlain text and map, aided by the best modern charts, and an accurate knowledge of the country, to establish, with any certainty, the exact position of the Iroquois fort. The location which I suggested was on or near Onondaga Lake, 4 leagues or 10 miles from the great Iroquois fishery at the foot of Oneida Lake. The limits of this article forbid my presenting at this time my reasons for this conclusion; I will therefore confine myself to an examination of General Clark's position. He locates the fort on Nichols Pond, in the north-east corner of the town of Fenner, in Madison County, 3 miles east of the village of Perryville, and 10 miles by an air line, south of the east end of Oneida Lake. The following are some of the reasons suggested by Champlain's text and engraved view, against this proposed location.

First. Nichols Pond is over 24 miles, measured on a direct line, from the outlet of Oneida Lake, where the expedition crossed that stream. By any route practicable in 1615, it could not have been reached by less than 30 miles travel, owing to the intervening impassable swamps. Champlain states that the fort was 4 leagues (10 miles) from the "fishery," a distance more likely to be exaggerated than understated. *Second.* The expedition reached the fort at 3 P. M. on the 10th of October, the day after they had met and captured a party of Iroquois, who were on their way to the fishery. Now if the fishery referred to was on Oneida Lake, and within 10 miles of Nichols Pond, it must have been directly north of the latter. How then could Champlain have met a party going north from the fort to the lake, when his course, if bound for Nichols Pond, was on a line from the west end of that lake in a direction south of east? The lines of travel of the two parties could not have intersected.

Third. Nichols Pond does not correspond in important particulars, with Champlain's engraved view of the site of the fort. I do not attach much importance to that birds-eye sketch, evidently fanciful in most respects, but as General Clark and Dr. Shea rely on its correctness, it is

fair to use it in testing the soundness of their positions. The original is a well-executed copper plate line engraving, inserted in the editions of 1619 and 1632. The copies reproduced by Lavèrdiere, and in this Magazine (vol. 1., p. 561) are wood cuts, and do not, of course, do justice to the original. The latter represents the fortified village as bounded on two sides by two streams, emptying *into* the lake from elevated ground in the rear; whereas the inlets into Nichols Pond are on opposite sides, not contiguous to each other. The pond is quite insignificant, scarcely an acre in extent, nearly surrounded by a marsh of perhaps four acres more, which may, in wet seasons, have formerly been overflowed. *Fourth.* The view represents the lake as much broader than the palisaded water front of the fort, and the fortified village as quite extensive, much larger than Nichols Pond could ever have been. The latter therefore fails to answer the conditions required by the engraving. *Fifth.* General Clark says, that "the fortified village on Nichols Pond was occupied from about 1600 to 1630." The mean between the two happens to be the exact year of Champlain's invasion. How has General Clark ascertained those dates? How does he know that the village had not ceased to exist long anterior to Champlain's invasion? In fixing limits to the periods of aboriginal occupancy, it would be more satisfactory to have the evidence cited. In regard to this village, if one of any considerable extent existed on Nichols Pond, all we can certainly know is, that it belonged to the Stone Age. Who can tell when its fires were first kindled,—when, or how they were finally extinguished? History, and even tradition are silent. *Sixth.* General Clark concedes that the expedition was directed against, and besieged a fort of the Onondagas. Why then does he seek to locate it on a pond in the ancient territory of the Oneidas? *Seventh.* The site of the fort, as claimed by General Clark, is on the water-shed between the sources of the Susquehanna and the tributaries of Oneida Lake, an elevation of nearly 1,000 feet above the latter. To reach it would have involved an ascent so difficult and toilsome for an army like Champlain's, that he would hardly have failed to notice the embarrassments in his narrative. *Eighth.* The siege lasted six days. If the fort had been on the heights of Fenner, a beacon light in its neighborhood could have flashed a summons to the confederate tribes, and brought such prompt assistance that the besiegers would speedily have been attacked and overwhelmed. Champlain would hardly have trusted himself so long in a hostile country, and so far from his landing. *Ninth.* Champlain mentions the islands in Oneida Lake. General Clark assumes the knowledge of their

existence could only have been derived from their having been seen by Champlain from the hills near Nichols Pond, forgetting they are only four miles distant, and in plain sight, of the place where he crossed the Oneida outlet. *Tenth.* Champlain says they raised the siege of the fort, and began their retreat on the 16th of October, and reached their canoes on the 18th, a march quite incredible, if from so distant a point as Nichols Pond, encumbered as they were with their wounded, and impeded by a driving snow storm on the last day.

Having discussed the location of the fort, aided by the text and engraved view of Champlain, let us now see what assistance can be derived from the map, claimed by General Clark and Dr. Shea to be so accurate and authentic. Whenever the text and map agree, they must be accepted as conclusive. Where they do not, and particularly in those instances where the map differs from well authenticated modern surveys, I prefer to reject it, whether it was made by Champlain or not.

That it does not agree in important particulars, either with the text or with the actual topography of the country, is clearly evident, as I have already shown and will now endeavor to point out more in detail. The map differs from the text, *First.* In landing the expedition directly at the point on the south shore of Lake Ontario, where it passed into the interior, instead of first carrying it for at least "four leagues along the sandy beach of the lake," as clearly represented by the text. *Second.* In representing Champlain to have landed at a stream—claimed by General Clark to be Little Salmon Creek—and to have passed directly inland from the mouth of that stream, and to have crossed it twice before reaching the fort. *Third.* In representing, at the sources of that creek thus crossed, three large and two small lakes, near the largest two of which the expedition passed. If, as General Clark holds, neither of those lakes is Oneida Lake, then the five lakes thus delineated on the map are not noticed in the text at all. Champlain is utterly silent in regard to them, and rightfully so, for in point of fact *there are no such lakes in existence.* They will be sought for in vain on any reliable map of the country. *Fourth.* The map differs from the text in another important particular, that is, if the theory advanced by General Clark and Dr. Shea is correct. The route, as indicated on the map, after winding among those mythical lakes, and leaving the sources of the Little Salmon, passes directly by a southwesterly course to the Iroquois fort. This fort is located, *by the map*, on the easterly end of a lake, assumed by both General Clark and Dr. Shea to be Oneida Lake, the outlet of which flows into Lake Ontario. If it is not Oneida Lake, then that lake is not represented on

the map at all, unless it is one of the five imaginary lakes on the sources of the Little Salmon, which is disclaimed by General Clark. But the route of the expedition, as shown by the map, instead of crossing the outlet of what he claims to be Oneida Lake, as distinctly asserted by the text, does not go near it. Dr. Shea says, General Clark and Mr. Marshall agree that Champlain crossed that outlet. I certainly do, because the text asserts it. But the map contradicts it. It is for General Clark to reconcile the two. Both General Clark and Dr. Shea repudiate the map when they say, "the dotted line of the march on the map, to coincide with Champlain's text, should have continued across Oneida outlet, which it already approaches on the map." They are in error in saying that it approaches the outlet. The whole length of the lake lies between them. If the dotted line had crossed the outlet, where, on the hypothesis of General Clark, would it then have gone? *Fifth.* If the map locates the fort at the east end of Oneida Lake, as it certainly does on the theory of General Clark, what then becomes of his location on Nichols Pond, at least 10 miles in a direct line south of that lake? *Sixth.* The map places the fort on a small lake, the outlet of which empties into Lake Ontario. But the waters of Nichols Pond flow into Oneida Lake, first passing through Cowasselon, Canaserago and Chittenango Creeks. How is this discrepancy reconciled?

Dr. Shea impugns the correctness of the *fac-simile* map in one particular. He says: "In the reproduction in the magazine the dotted line goes to the town; in the original, however, it stops before reaching the lake near which the town is placed." I do not understand the force of this criticism. Both the original and *fac-simile* place the town on the lake. The dotted line of the *fac-simile* quite reaches the town, while that of the original falls two or three dots short of it. The line of the original is evidently intended to exhibit the route as extending to the town whether carried quite to it or not. Does Dr. Shea mean to be understood that the expedition did not reach the town by the line indicated?

The considerations which I have presented conclusively show that the map and the text are irreconcilable, and that one or the other must, in some of the particulars, be rejected. I prefer, for the reasons already stated, to be governed by the text. Yet Dr. Shea says that "General Clark seeks a theory which will reconcile the text and the map." Whether he has found it the reader can now decide. The effort to harmonize what cannot be reconciled has led to much of the obscurity and confusion which have involved this subject. The route of the expedition, as claimed in my two articles, is certainly the most natural, the most feasible, and the

most in harmony with the narrative of Champlain. No other across the lake, and inland to the fort, presents so few objections, and no other which has yet been suggested can stand the test of critical examination. As to the location of the fort, I reached the conclusion, after a careful consideration of all the data that could be obtained—a comparison of the map and text of Champlain, a study of the topography of the country, aided by the best maps attainable, and by correspondence with persons familiar with the various localities—that the objective point of the expedition, the fortified village of the Onondagas, was on the lake which bears their name.

I have seen nothing in the publications of General Clark, or in the learned article of Dr. Shea, to disturb my first impressions. Certainly no other place so free from objection has been pointed out. The strong language used by General Clark in support of his views, while it is in keeping with his enthusiastic convictions, is not justified by his facts or reasons. His conclusions are valuable, to the extent only in which they are sustained by reliable data. I understand that he has ready for the press, a work on the "Homes and Migrations of the Iroquois." Possibly it will contain his views more at large on the questions here discussed. Whenever any additional facts and arguments to disprove my positions are presented, I will give them a candid and careful examination. I am constrained to believe, however, that we cannot hope for any new data, but must be content to rest the case on the scanty records of Champlain, the testimony of the early travelers, and the few relics, which time has spared, of the era in which the Iroquois met and successfully resisted the firearms of the white man, in the heart of Central New York.

O. H. MARSHALL

WILLIAM LIVINGSTON

GOVERNOR OF NEW JERSEY

William Livingston, whom we may term, after the present fashion, the great war Governor of New Jersey during the struggle for independence, was the son of Robert Livingston and Catharine Van Brugh of Albany, and was born in that town in November, 1723. Dying in 1790, his public career covered the most stirring period of our colonial history. His boyhood was passed with his grandmother Van Brugh at Albany, an interesting episode in which was a year spent among the Mohawks with a Gospel Missionary, when, as he himself recorded, "he studied the language and had a good opportunity to learn the genius and manners of the natives." The value of the information thus acquired is better understood when we reflect that the Indian tribes were a perpetual source of danger and anxiety to the colonies. Livingston's biographer, Theodore Sedgwick, relates of him that his ambition was to become a painter, and to study in the schools of Italy. In this he was not encouraged by his family. The arts had few advocates during the stormy days in which his lot was cast, and the restless colonies were in more need of statesmanship than culture. He was graduated from Yale College in 1741 at the head of his class, one of the six persons in the New York Province who had received a collegiate education.

He at once begun the study of law in the office of James Alexander, a native of Scotland, who had settled in New York in 1715, and stood at the head of his profession. No better training and example than that to be found in the study and practice of the best Scotch lawyers, a model picture of whom was familiar to our youth in the person of the precise and genial counsellor Pleydell, as drawn by the inimitable Scott. Not only in his professional example, but in the higher walks of political ethics, the influence of Alexander was a happy one on the young student. The sturdy counsellor was first among the advocates of popular rights, foremost in resistance to the oppressions of the Crown. The earlier generations of Livingstons had been aristocratic in their sympathies, but that which came upon the stage with the subject of this sketch was true to the cause of liberty. Philip, one of the brothers of William, was a signer of the Declaration of Independence. No doubt their opinions

were guided, if not shaped by the eminent Scotchman. Alexander did not neglect his students, and added the gay science of mathematics to the ordinary drill in jurisprudence; this was the evening entertainment. Livingston preferred occasional diversions, and chafed against the minute drudgery. An essay in the *Post Boy*, under the signature of Tyro Philoleges, satirizing this mode of teaching the young idea, shows the state of Livingston's mind at this period. A pasquinade the next year, on an incident which happened in the family of Mr. Alexander, charged upon Livingston and not denied by him, was the cause of a rupture between master and pupil, and occasion of the latter passing to the office of William Smith, then a leading Whig lawyer. Scotchmen are not the most patient of men. Alexander was hot-blooded and Livingston had enough of northern irascibility to make of him an unequal and not always agreeable companion. The breach, however, was soon healed.

About this time Mr. Livingston made a matrimonial alliance with Miss Susannah French, a daughter of Philip French, a gentleman who had owned a large tract in New Jersey. This lady was a grand-daughter in the female line of Major Anthony Brocholls, Lieutenant-Governor of the New York Colony under Andros, and Commander-in-Chief in 1677. Miss French was living with her aunt Mary Brocholls at the time of the wedding, and with her Mr. Livingston and his bride remained for the first year, after which they resided for some years in Water street. In 1768 they removed to a house on the corner of William and Garden (now Exchange Place), a building later occupied by the Post Office. Here they remained until their final removal from the city.

Besides his legal occupation Mr. Livingston was engaged in literary and political pursuits, published with William Smith, Jr., the first digest of the colony laws, and began a miscellaneous journal, entitled the "Independent Reflector," which gave ample scope to the rather sharp, dry and pungent character of his intelligence and wit.

In religion Livingston was true to his ancestry. "The faith of his mother Lois and his grandmother Eunice" was in him also, and he defended it stoutly by word and pen. In 1758, when the Church was the dividing line in politics, he was sent to the Assembly. The liberal party were mostly dissenters, and the opposition now took the name of the Livingston party, though not controlled by the family. His standing at the bar was shown in his choice as the first President of the Moot, a club formed in the fall of 1770 for the discussion of legal questions.

Cities in the last century offered few of the attractions which we find

so numerous in this; the gentlemen who did not own a country establishment were exceptions. The Livingston manor on the Hudson was the property of the eldest son, as was the fashion in the days of hereditary law. Perhaps his wife's influence was seen in the choice made of New Jersey for a family seat. Here in Elizabethtown, in 1760, Mr. Livingston made a purchase of eighty acres of land, which he later increased to one hundred and twenty, and stocked with many varieties of fruit trees imported from England. Of the sixty-five pear trees then planted the modern fruit grower will only recognize the *Beurées* or butter pears, the *Ambrée*, *St. Germain*, *Bergamot* and the familiar *Vergaloo*. He finally withdrew from the city to Elizabethtown in 1772, and resided in the village until the fall of 1773, when the famous mansion [a print of which, showing the house as it appeared before its later alterations, prefaces this sketch] was ready for occupation.

Thoroughly American in spirit, and so far prejudiced that he almost wholly declined intercourse with the English officers who made "*la pluie et le beau temps*" for the city, Mr. Livingston showed his republican simplicity and avowed his liberal tendencies by giving to his mansion the plain, significant name of **LIBERTY HALL**.

In 1774 Mr. Livingston was elected to represent New Jersey in the first Continental Congress, and again re-elected in 1775; in both bodies he did good service. Recalled in June, 1775, to take command of the Jersey troops, he lost the opportunity of signing the Declaration of Independence. In June, 1776, Franklin, the Colonial Governor, having been deposed, he was chosen to fill his place, and became the first Governor of the State of New Jersey. His opponent at this election was Richard Stockton. This gentleman found his compensation for his defeat in the privilege of affixing his name to the Declaration of Independence.

In September, Livingston resigned his commission and entered upon the arduous duties of his office. His addresses to the Legislature are full of patriotic sentiment; and his pen did constant and excellent service in private and public manner. Conspicuous among his publications was a parody in reply to the bombastic general order with which Burgoyne opened the campaign which terminated at Saratoga. This squib so exasperated the royalist General that the price put upon Livingston's head was, he himself writes, raised from five hundred to two thousand guineas. In the fall of this year, 1777, he was re-elected Governor without a dissenting voice. So thoroughly and well-ordered were the forces of the State under his rule, that when Washington turned upon the British in New Jersey, the firing of a tar barrel and the discharge of a

cannon instantly collected four thousand of her militia in the time of harvest to co-operate with the grand army. His time was wholly given to public duties. In 1780 he wrote that he had not, in four years, given fourteen days attention to his family.

During the war New Jersey was a maneuvering ground for the two armies, and Liberty Hall was seldom a safe residence; indeed, on several occasions the family were annoyed; on one, February, 1779, by a detachment sent from New York to seize the person and papers of the Governor, the latter of which were only saved by the presence of mind of his daughters. Liberty Hall was the scene of many noteworthy incidents. Washington and Lafayette dined in its ample hall, and in its spacious drawing-room a daughter, Sarah Van Brugh Livingston, the pure and childlike expression of whose countenance has been admirably preserved by the pencil of Pine, was married to John Jay.

The Governor returned with great delight to his mansion in 1783, and for the first time in seven years "spent a summer in the shadow of his own vine and fruit tree." After so long a nomadic existence, he enjoyed with additional relish the home and rural life for which he had an ardent passion. He wrapped himself up, to use his own words, "in a sort of *otium cum dignitate*." He was constantly in his garden with his spade, and took pride in his reputation as a New Jersey farmer; but as has been the fate of many another, from Cincinnatus to our later day, who would have found happiness in retirement, his country could not spare his intelligent service. He retained his office of Governor till the close of his life. In 1785 he was chosen Minister to Holland, to succeed Mr. Adams. He was sorely tempted to accept, because of his knowledge of the Dutch language and his acquaintance with many of the Court, but felt unwilling to leave his home. In 1787 he was member of the Convention which framed the Federal Constitution. In person he was, in middle life, tall and spare, later slightly corpulent; in dress, careless, almost slovenly, but his biographer informs us that he was a capital fisherman and wrote a bad hand, two unerring marks of a gentleman. He was an excellent Latin scholar, read and wrote French and Dutch with ease, and was thoroughly acquainted with English literature.

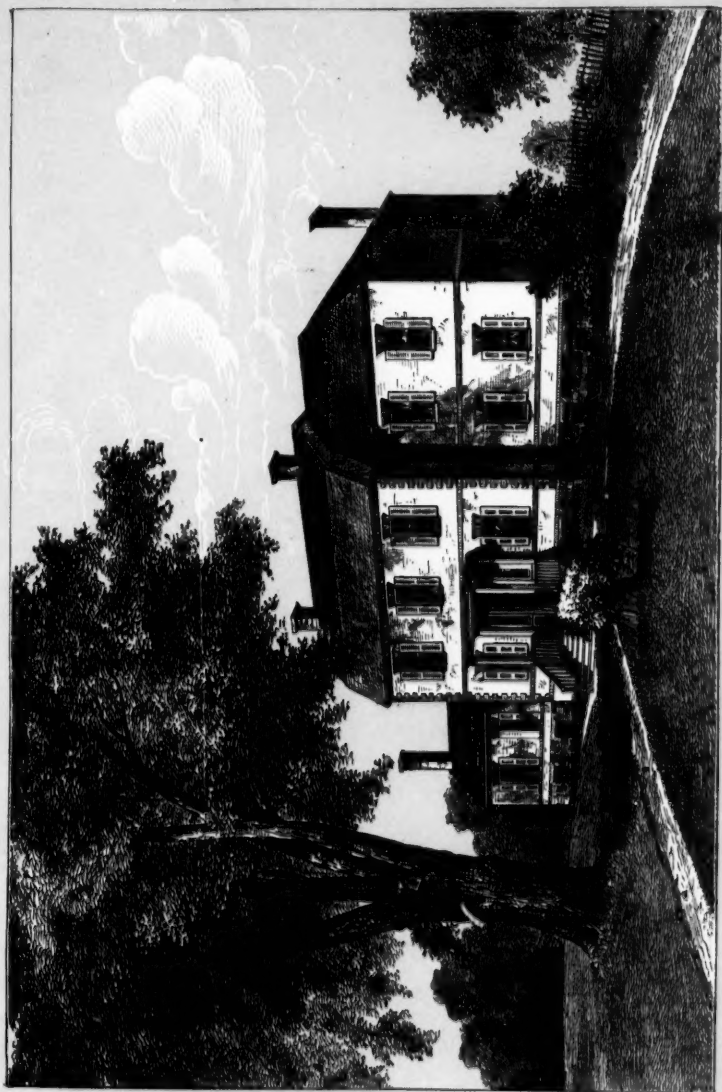
He continued to reside at Liberty Hall until his death, which occurred on Monday, the 25th July, 1790. As Tacitus says of Agricola, he was "*felix in opportunitate mortis*." His eyes closed upon the Republic, full of honors, with the Federal Constitution he had helped to frame in successful and happy experiment under the guidance of Wash-

ington. Among the men of this historic period, no one affords a more interesting study than this staunch, original and devoted friend of the liberties and rights of man.

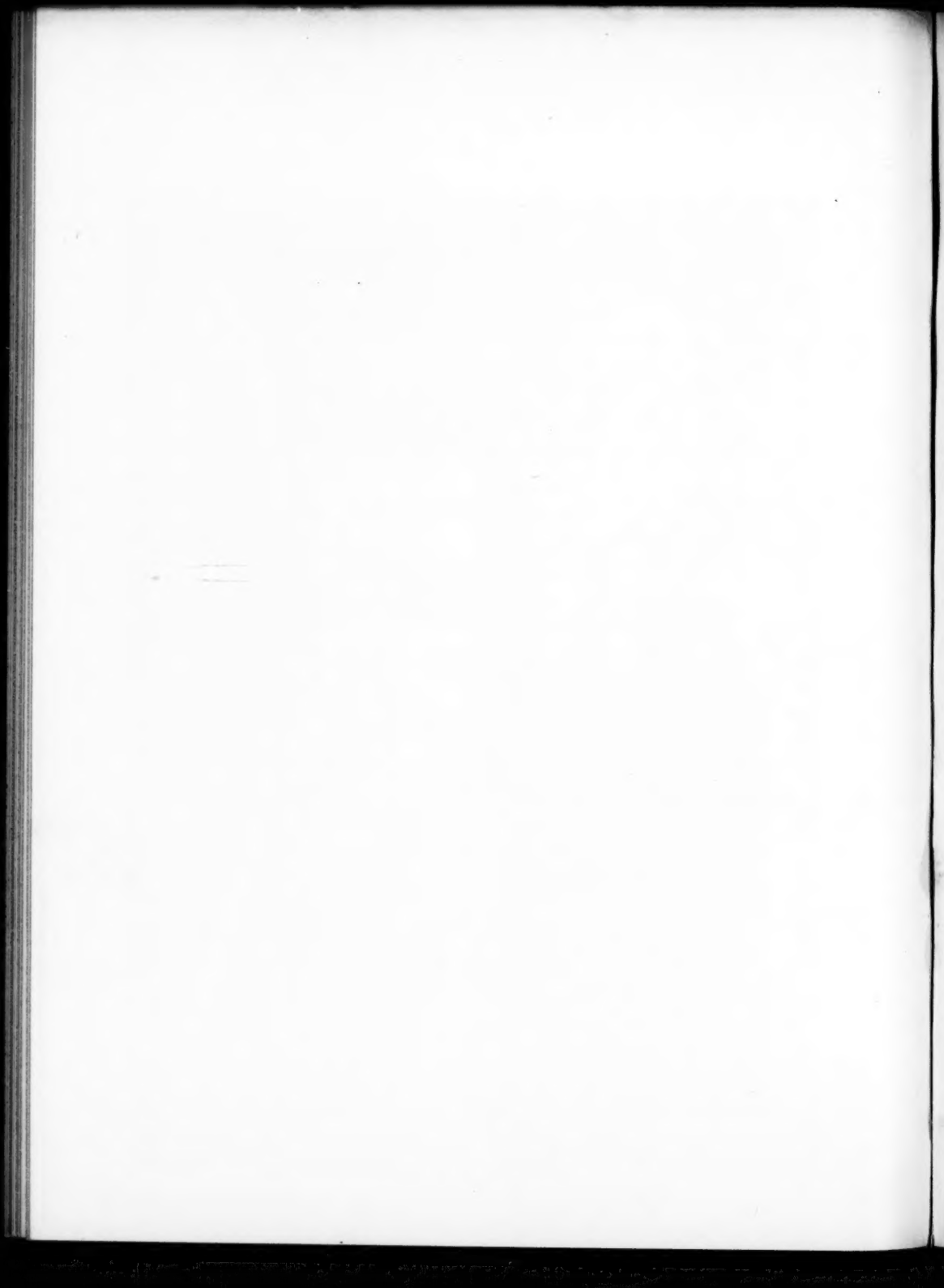
Of thirteen children by Susannah French, seven survived him. I Henry Brockholst, better known as Brockholst, who was Colonel in the Continental army, and later Judge of the Supreme Court of New York. II. William. Of his five daughters, Susan, married to John Clive Symmes; Kitty, first to Matthew Ridley of Baltimore, second, to John Livingston; Mary, to James Linn; Sarah, as before stated, to John Jay.

Liberty Hall was later occupied by Countess Meinziewitz, a daughter of Peter Van Brugh Livingston and niece of the Governor of New York, who had the bad taste to change the name of the historic mansion to "Ursino." The exterior appearance of the house has been changed by the addition of a story, but otherwise the old building is the same as when its walls echoed to the tramp of Hessian soldiery, whose passage through the corridors left marks still visible in sabre cuts and hacks on the bannisters. It is now the property of Mr. John Kean. It stands upon the left side of the Springfield turnpike, beyond the Elizabeth river, and about three-quarters of a mile to the northward of the railway station in the village. It is nearly shut out from the road by thick shrubbery, and overshadowed by the foliage of large trees, among which no doubt the "mazzard" or black cherry trees, which the Governor planted with his own hand.

JOHN AUSTIN STEVENS



LIBERTY HALL
Residence of Governor Livingston,—Elizabethtown, N. J.



THE SIEGE OF SAVANNAH

1779

AS RELATED BY COLONEL JOHN HARRIS
CRUGER*Communicated by Henry C. Van Schaack*

SAVANNAH, November 8, 1779

My Dear Sirs—By this time I presume you are under great uneasiness and apprehensions for the fate of Georgia, invested by Sea Land and by the combined powers of France and the Southern rebel Colonies; the former with a fleet of 25 sails of the line and above a Dozn frigates, and between 3 & 4000 Land forces, and the latter with between 2 & 3000 troops. I kept a memorandum of the proceedings of the siege for my own satisfaction. I send you herewith a Copy of it for yours; it contains almost every Circumstance that with propriety I could commit to paper; in addition to it I may add that never did a sett of people meet with a greater Disappointment than did on this occasion the Rebel Gentry and their great & good Allies. They came in so full of Confidence of succeeding, that they were at some loss where to lay the blame, each abusing the other for deceiving them. The french have still some frigates cruising off our harbor, notwithstanding wh two Express Boats are just now going away, one for England & the other for N. York; the odds are in my opinion against either of them going safe. Mrs. Cruger is now here, very well, after having suffer'd on her passage exceedingly by a most violent storm & being detain'd a prisoner for a month on board the French fleet. Sir James Wallace & Generl Garth are carried to France, as

is Captn McKenzie of His Majesty's ship Ariel, who was also taken with severl other vessels bound hither off Tybee. *We are all hands sufferers by this unfortunate invasion. The difference is we have acquired glory and our Enemies Disgrace.*

By Captn Galbreath in August the last Conveyance from this to England, I did myself the pleasure to write you separately & fully, my not doing so at present is not having anything very particular to write, at least what would require troubling you with separate Letters. If Mr. Van Schaack is in England, I beg to be affectionately remember'd to him.

I thank God for the enjoyment of my health in a very unhealthy Country, & I pray to God to grant you health, with every other Blessing & Comfort of this Life, & am very much,

my dear Sirs

Yr much obliged &

very affectionate humble Servt

J. H. CRUGER

Nancy desires her most affectionate Regards to you & Mrs. Van Schaack.

HENRY CRUGER Senr }
HENRY CRUGER Junr } *Esquires.*

MEMORANDUM of a very critical period in the province of Georgia a little previous and during the Siege of Savannah by the combined powers of France & the American Rebels by Sea & Land, under the command of the Count D'Estaing.

Five Sail of Count D'Estaing's fleet discovered off Tybee ye 3d Septr, ye 6th ye Sail chased Capn Whitworth going express to New York into Tybee; from this time for a week forward more

& more of the french Ships were daily seen. Sunday night & Monday morning, ye 12th & 13th, the french landed their Troops, above 3000, at Burley ye 18th. Count D'Estaing by a flagg summoned the Town in the name of ye King of france, boasting exceedingly of his very formidable fleet & great Army, flushed with victory from their late success at St. Vincents & Grenada—threatning an assault, & carefully pointing out all the horrible Consequences of so desperate a measure, reminding the Genl that he would be responsible by an ill judged and fruitless opposition. The Genl summoned the Field Officers upon the Count's Letter. The purport of their answer was—that British Soldiers never could think of surrendering under any circumstances without some kind of conditions, & terms being allowed them. The next Day recd the Count's answer, that according to the rules of War the Besieged & not the Besiegers were to propose terms. We asked 24 Hours to consider, which was readily granted—we having nothing else in view but to steal time till we could be reinforced with the Beaufort Garrison & throw up some works in our front & on our flanks, where we were almost naked, a bad Abbatis excepted, & our whole force, (Militia included) not exceeding 1200 Men, forming a front from right to left near two Miles. Under these circumstances, weak as we were, from the extensiveness of our line without Battery or Breast work, we were determined to have fought Monsieur had he thought proper to come on, tho' the odds were against us, as the french had then laying before us between 2 & 3000 Men; but to re-

turn, as says the Parson when, like me, he wanders from his subject—our plan succeeding by the fortunate arrival of Colo Maitland with the Beaufort Garrison, about 900, we sent the Count for answer (as soon as the 24 Hours were expired) that in a Council of the Principal Civil and Military Officers it was *unanimously agreed & determined to defend the Town.* Here endeth all Truces till ye 25th of Sepr, when the French sent out a Flagg for ye purpose of collecting their Wounded & Burying their Dead, the consequences of a sortie made upon them that Day by three Companies of our light Infantry. Our loss was 1 officer of ye 71st, kill'd, & 21 Rank & File, kill'd & wounded. The loss of ye french, kill'd & wounded, about 120. The greatest part of ye first & second week that the french lay before us they were exceeding busy in making Batteries, bringing up their Ships' Guns, 18, 12 & 9 pounders, Mortars & Ammunition, & intrenching themselves; nor were we behind them in labour by night & by Day, building Batteries & redoubts, under the direction of the indefatigable Captn Moncrief, Chief Engineer, to whom we must in a great measure attribute the preservation of Savannah & its Garrison.

The 20th Sepr, about $\frac{3}{4}$ of a Mile from Savannah, the Rose, Man of War, was sunk in ye River, & a Day or two after that three Transports, about 2 Miles lower down the River, were also sunk to stop the Channel, but without effect, as a french Frigate & 2 large Rebel Gallies pass'd them ye 28th Sepr & 2nd of Octr; the frigate & Gallies opened & kept up a continual firing

upon the Town for the whole Day, doing no other mischief than breaking some windows and frightening the Women and Children, from this time till the Siege was raised they continued firing more or less every Day & night without hurting a Man. On Sunday night ye 4th Octbr at 12 o'Clock the French opened their Bomb Battery, consisting of 7 or 8 Mortars, & continued throwing Shells till revelee next Morning, when they opened at once all their Battering Artillery, wch was immediately returned wth equal fury from ours, which shook the very elements until the Cannon became too heated to fire any longer; a cessation then took place for a few Hours, when the firing was renewed & continued pretty constantly Day & Night from both sides from Guns & Mortars—the Enemy's shells were 10 Inches, ours 5½. Carcasses were thrown for 2 nights, wch only burnt 2 Houses—their shells, tho perpetually flying, did little or no damage, but their shott greatly injured the Town; scarcely a House has escaped, several are irreparable. The whole Rebel Army all this time, Continentals & Militia, about 2500, under Genl Lincoln, laying idle, so much despised by the french as not to be allowed to go into their Camp, no communication together.

On the 9th at Day break Count D'Estaing, with his Grenadiers & pick'd Men of his Army, to ye amount of 4000, appeared on our right flank, where he expected to force the line and enter ye Town. The Lord fought on our side, & totally defeated the blood thirsty purposes of the Enemy, who talk'd of nothing but putting all to the Sword. —

We had not 300 Men engag'd. The Enemy advanc'd in three Columns with Count D'Estaing at their Head. The Ground near the place of attack, which might have been very favourable to them, by interposition of Providence proved just the reverse; their Columns were thrown together in confusion, flank'd by our Batteries with grape. We buryed about [of] our line 300. The french allow they lost that Morning, kill'd & wounded, 700, & that their expedition to Georgia by sickness, &c., has cost them 1200 Men besides 67 of their officers kill'd, several of whom were of high reputation; the Counts D'Estaing & Polasky, both badly wounded at ye lines, the latter since Dead; the loss ye Rebels sustained we have not been able to ascertain, tho many of their best Troops & their most forward Genius had the Honor of falling with their great & good Allies, who held them exceeding cheap, with the most sovereign contempt. Our loss during the Siege was 2 Captains, 2 Subalterns & 32 Rank and File kill'd, & fifty odd wounded. At the same time that Count D'Estaing attackd our right the Rebel Genls McIntosh, Huger & Williamson attacked our left flank with about 1200 Men, chiefly Militia, but whether it was meant as a real attack or a feint is hard to determine, as under cover of a very thick fog they came on & went off with only the loss of half a Dozen kill'd & 20 or 30 wounded. From ye 9th we continually expected a second attack from Monsieur, in hopes of recovering their lost reputation, till ye 19th, when we discovered that ye French had filed off to the right to Embark, and ye Rebels to the left to March to their re-

spective quarters in this Province, the Carolinas & Virginia.

Novr ye 4th, We recd intelligence yesterday that the French fleet had left Tybee & were out of sight, greatly chagrined & as much disappointed, the Georgia Gentn Rebels were so confident of succeeding that they brought their wives & families from Carolina with them.

The Vigilant 3 Gallies, several Transports, with all ye convalescents, the Provisions, Artillery & Stores coming from Beaufort not being able to reach us, but by getting in a Creek into shallow water, where ye french Men of War could not get at them, *are safe.*

ENDORSEMENT.—*The above Memo. by J. H. Cruger of a critical period in Georgia a little before and during siege of Savannah was sent to his father & brother.*

H. C. Jr.

LETTER OF A PHILADELPHIA QUAKER 1769

PHILADELPHIA, March 5th, 1769.
Esteemed Friend :

I have thy acceptable favour of the 13th of February, which afforded me much pleasure, as I apprehended it came from a Gentleman descended from the same family as I am, and is the first I have ever met with of the same name ; and my father, Samuel Reynell, often told me if I ever met with any that spelled their name in the same manner he did, I might depend they were of the same family ; that he had never met with any, but that his father, John Reynell, who became a Quaker in the latter end of the reign of Charles the Second,

being bound over to attend the Quarter Sessions at Exon. On that account, in the beginning of James the Second's reign, when his name was called in court, the Chairman asked how he spelt it, which when he had told him, he took his seal out of his pocket, with his coat of arms, and gave it to him, saying, "You are one of my family, you are discharged."

His grandfather, Richard Reynell, was the clergyman of North Tawton in Devon, and had an estate there, and left it to his son, who was a man of bright natural parts, but no economist, and he spent it. My father when I was a boy, took me there and showed it me, and told me that ought to have been his, but his grandfather had spent it.

My father left North Tawton when he was a young man, and came and settled in the City of Exon, where I was brought up, and lived till I was in the 18th year of my age, when my father sent me to Jamaica to live with a nephew of his, by the mother's side, to be a merchant ; his name was Samuel Dicker, he acquired a very large estate there and returned back to England, bought an estate at Waltham, built a fine bridge in the way there, and was choosen member of Parliament in his own county where he was born.

I did not like Jamaica, it being a very wicked place, so I did not stay there quite a year, but came here, where I have been now near 42 years, and am in the 61st year of my age. Providence has been pleased to bless me with some small share of this world's goods, but has also been pleased to take from me all my children, which were five ; how-

ever, I do not repine, he is a good and gracious God, and has done much more for me than I deserve, who am a poor unworthy creature, and if in his great goodness he will receive me into the arms of his mercy at last, it is all I have to ask. I am the only surviving male branch of our family. I have a sister living at Exon, named Mary, who is married to Andrews Henry Groth, who have one son, named John Reynell Groth. I have had the satisfaction to see them in this country, but they would not stay in it. These are all that are left of the family. Thus have I given thee as particular an account of my family as I am capable of, and if it gives thee any pleasure or satisfaction, I shall be glad I gave it thee.

I am the person who had the honour first to sign the letter or memorial, addressed to the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain, on which thou art pleased to express thyself in so handsome and kind a manner. We were in hopes that we had pointed out what was for the interest of both countries in so clear a manner as to induce the Ministry to agree to the repeal of the acts complained of; and I think if they had a true regard for the interests of their country, they would readily have done it, but that doth not appear to me to be the principal thing they have in view; but rather how they shall support themselves in power, and carry into execution their plans for depriving the Americans of their liberties and privileges.

The point in dispute is a very important one; if the Americans are to be taxed by a Parliament when they are

not nor can be represented, they are no longer Englishmen, but slaves, who are to have their property taken away at any time and will and pleasure, which they are not willing to be; therefore it is no wonder they have strongly remonstrated against it—and taken such other measures as they apprehended were most likely to put a stop to the encroachments that were making on their liberties, and as their petitions, addresses, and remonstrances, have not had their desired effect, they are come to resolutions not to import any more goods from Great Britain, unless it be a few articles they cannot do without, and to encourage manufacturing among themselves, which I apprehend will prove of great benefit to this country, and if it proves a loss to Great Britain, they may thank themselves for it, it is their own imprudent conduct that has been the occasion of it. I will make no apology for writing thee this long letter, but assure thee I am, with the utmost regard and respect, thy assured friend.

JOHN REYNELL.

To Rev. W. H. Reynell.

Gentleman's Magazine, vol. 94, p. 223.

NOTES

BIRTH PLACE AND PARENTAGE OF JACOB LEISLER.—Our historians give us no information as to the parentage of Jacob Leisler. The question regarding his birth place, which was mooted a hundred years ago and more (*Collections of N. Y. Hist. Soc.*, 1868, pp. 422-425), appears to be settled by reference to the entry of his marriage, 18 March, 1663, in the Records of the Reformed Dutch

Church in New York : "Jacob Leysler, *van Frankfort*." An important and well-nigh exhaustive article which appeared some months ago in the New York Genealogical and Biographical Record (vol. vii, pp. 145-151), entitled "Leisler : First Three Generations," offers a conjecture as to the surname of Jacob Leisler's mother. It would however seem quite as likely that the Susanna Leydsler, who was one of the sponsors at the baptism of Jacob's eldest child, 10 February, 1664, may have been his sister.

In the absence of any definite statement on the subject, I venture the surmise that Jacob Leisler was the son of one Jacob Victorian Leisler, of Frankfort. The register of the "Académie," or University of Geneva (*Livre du Recteur*), contains this entry :

"Johannes Henricus Leislerus Jacobi Victoriani filius Francofordensis S. S. theol. stud. (sacrosanctæ theologiæ studiosus) nomen dedi 19 die Julii 1659."

Was our Jacob a brother of this John Henry, and a son of Jacob Victorian?

The supposition, warranted by the identity of the family name and the locality mentioned, is strengthened, I think, by some additional considerations :

(1) The identity of the surnames. Jacob, perhaps the eldest son of Jacob (Victorian), gives the same surname to his eldest son, and names his second son John. His eldest daughter Susannah (mar. Michiel Vaughton) bestows the name John upon her first two sons, and calls the third Jacob.

(2) The dates given are favorable to this theory. Jacob Leisler came to New

Netherland in 1660, the year after his presumed brother's matriculation at the Academy of Geneva. They belonged therefore evidently to the same generation.

(3) The mere fact that a Leisler pursued theological studies in Geneva does not go far to prove that the family was of Swiss or of French Huguenot extraction, for in those days Geneva was the resort of young men from every country where the Protestant faith had spread—from Poland, Hungary, Bohemia, and northern Europe. But taken together with the fact that Jacob Leisler was in New York the one prominent patron and the trusted agent of the Huguenots who found refuge here, it certainly adds color to the report which Du Simitière gives, from the lips of some of the old French refugees in New York, that Jacob Leisler "had retired from France for the persecution," (*i. e.*, his family had so retired,) "that he spoke French, that he was a Swiss" and had a brother in the French service. (*Collections of N. Y. Hist. Soc.*)

Frankfort was at an early day an asylum of the French Protestants. The first who established themselves in that city were fugitives from the Netherlands under the persecution instigated by the duke of Alva (circ. 1567). They formed, says Weiss, a community of about three hundred persons, increased from time to time by accessions of families from France under later persecutions.

That Jacob Leisler came to New Netherland from Frankfort, therefore, is no evidence that he was of German extraction. It would seem reasonable to allow some weight to the early test-

imony in favor of a French extraction ; and this consideration, together with the discovery of a Leisler studying theology in Calvin's Seminary, inclines me to the belief that Jacob and John Henry may have been the sons or the remoter descendants of a refugee from France, who had joined the little colony of Huguenots in Frankfort.

I may add—as not altogether foreign to the subject—that the eldest son of Jacob Leisler's daughter Françoise (Francina) and of Thomas Lewis was baptized in the *French Church*, New York, 2 February (born 29 January) 1695-6. "Eltie Leizeler" was one of the sponsors.

These considerations give perhaps a shade of probability to another of Du Simitière's recollections, which may have been dismissed by others as hitherto by myself very lightly. "Mrs. Farmer, daughter of Abraham Gouverneur, who married Milborne's widow, told Mr. Hartier (Hastier), a few days after the above date (31 May, 1769), that Mr. Leisler was an *Elder of the French Church in New York* ; but if so it must have been long before the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes." (*Collections of N. Y. Hist. Society, u. s.*) The French Church in New York, now represented by the "Eglise du Saint-Esprit," was not founded until the year 1688—three years after the Revocation ; a few months before Leisler's assumption of power, and three years before his death. But it had been preceded by the French Church worshiping in the Fort, with Daillé as its pastor (*Magazine of American History*, vol. i, pp. 91-93). To this congregation, some of the members

of the Dutch Church of New York were transferred—among them Paul Richard, Leisler's friend. No records of this early French congregation exist. But the testimony of Leisler's grand daughter* to the effect that he was connected with it, seems to be entitled to some weight. This fact would account for Daillé's visits, and his zealous mediation with Governor Sloughter on Leisler's behalf. Especially would it explain Leisler's relation to the Huguenot colony of New Rochelle. Holding office among the earlier refugees in New York, his interest in the newly arrived, and his agency in establishing them at New Rochelle, would be most natural. Why else, a German † by birth, ecclesiastically a Dutchman, an officer of the English colonial government, should so bestir himself for the advantage of a company of strangers, it is not easy to see. CHARLES W. BAIRD.

* Maria, youngest child of Abraham Gouverneur and Mary, widow of Jacob Milborne and daughter of Jacob Leisler, married Jasper Farmer (N. Y. Gen. and Biog. Record, vii, 64).

† "I a germane." (Letter of Leisler; *Documentary History of the State of New York*, vol. ii, p. 9.)

SPANISH JEALOUSY RESPECTING HER AMERICAN POSSESSIONS.—The following Note was written by Pallas, the learned Russian Naturalist and Traveller, and appeared in 1780 in the *Neue Nordische Beyträge*, Vol. III, at St. Petersburg, a very interesting series of scientific papers and narratives, many of which relate to our recently acquired possessions in Northwest America. The IXth paper in Vol. III, is a translation from the English, of Don Juan Francisco de la Bodega's voyage in 1775, along the

coast northwards from San Blas to North Lat. $57^{\circ} 58'$. (See "Miscellanies, by the Hon. Daines Barrington," London, 4to, 1701; also, Introduction by Navarreta to the "Viage hecho por las goletas Sutil y Mexicana," Madrid, 1802.)

Pallas is speaking of the mistrust shown by Spain towards strangers, and the English more especially, as regarded its American possessions.

"In the year 1766 Lord Morton, then President of the Royal Society, applied to the Spanish Minister near the English Court for a permission allowing an English Astronomer to go to some place in California for the observation of the Transit of Venus in 1769. This was at once denied, and when Lord Morton then proposed that Father Boscowich, a foreigner and Roman Catholic, should be allowed to go, he was listened to more favorably, but an effort was made to embarrass the permit with various conditions, and finally it was rejected, on the ground he was a Jesuit, whose order at that time had been driven out of Old and New Spain.

About the same time Chappe d'Aute-roche got a permission for a like purpose. The consequence was that among his papers a description of the present State of Mexico was found, which the dear friends and allies of the Catholic King published for the edification of the enemies of Spain.

I once made an application to Prince Masserano, who was so much respected during his residence in England, to permit a German named Kukhan, well known as a skillful taxidermist, to start from Vera Cruz and go to any given point in Mexico, under proper condi-

tions, merely for collection of natural curiosities. Although this request was backed influentially, the Minister excused himself from communicating it to his Court, on this ground that it had been laid down as a rule not to allow any stranger to cross any part of its American possessions." J. C. B.

THE MAGIC CIRCLE OF THE YUMA CONJURORS.—This notice on a performance of Yuma conjurors is a verbal copy from a passage of a long and elaborate ethnological and linguistic sketch on the Tulkepáya and Yávapai tribes of Central Arizona, lately sent by Mr. William H. Corbusier to Major T. W. Powell, United States Geologist, Washington, D. C., and refers to the short sojourn of these wild tribes on the Rio Verde Reservation, abolished in 1875. They were from there removed to the San Carlos Reservation in the southeastern part of that territory. A ramada is a hut or ephemerical structure made of green limbs or branches of trees and shrubs.

"All the medicine men meet occasionally and with considerable ceremony make medicine. They went through the performance early in the summer of 1874 on the Reservation, for the purpose of averting the diseases with which the Indians were afflicted the summer previous. In the middle of one of the villages they made a round *ramada* some ten feet in diameter, and under it, on the sand, illustrated the spirit land in a picture about seven feet across, made in colors by sprinkling powdered leaves and grass, red clay, charcoal, and ashes on the smooth sand. In the centre was

a round spot of red clay, about ten inches in diameter, and around it several successive rings of green and red alternately, each ring being an inch and a half wide. Projecting from the outer ring were four somewhat triangular-shaped figures, each one of which corresponded to one of the cardinal points of the compass, giving the whole the appearance of a Maltese cross. Around this cross and between its arms were the figures of men with their feet towards the centre, some made of charcoal with ashes for eyes and hair, others of red clay and ashes, etc. These figures were eight or nine inches long, and nearly all of them lacked some portion of the body, some an arm, others a leg or the head. The medicine men seated themselves around the picture on the ground in a circle and the Indians of the different bands crowded around them, the old men squatting close by, and the young men standing back of them.

After they had invoked the aid of the spirits in a number of chants, one of their number, apparently the oldest, a toothless, grey-haired man, solemnly arose, and carefully stepping between the figures of the men, dropped on each one a pinch of a yellow powder which he took from a small buckskin bag which had been handed to him. He put the powder on the heads of some, on the chests of others, and on other parts of the body, one of the other men sometimes telling him where to put it. After going all around, skipping three figures however, he put up the bag and then went around again and took from each figure a large pinch of powder, taking up the yellow powder also, and

in this way collected a heaping handful. After doing this he stepped back and another medicine man collected a handful in the same way, others following him.

Some of the laymen in their eagerness to get some, pressed forward but were ordered back. But after the medicine men had supplied themselves the *ramada* was torn down and a rush was made by men and boys, handfuls of the dirt were grabbed and rubbed on their bodies or carried away. The women and children, who were waiting for an invitation, were then called. They rushed to the spot in a crowd, and grabbing handfuls of dirt tossed it up in the air, so that it would fall on them, or they rubbed their bodies with it, mothers throwing it over children and rubbing it on their heads. This ended the performance."

A. S. GATSCHET.

Washington, D. C.

THE SEA SERPENT.—The progress of modern science is gradually rendering it possible for an individual to refer to the "Sea Serpent" without being laughed at. Nothing is clearer than the fact that a large number of creatures of the class referred to once existed. Scientists now give us their anatomy. The question, therefore, is, not whether such creatures are among the possibilities, but whether or not they still exist. The evidence given on this point by many sober and credible witnesses, indeed, men of the very highest integrity and respectability, ought to go for something; yet, in the face of popular ignorance, the evidence has been met with merriment and sneers. "The Nahant Sea Serpent"

is quite historic, and the mention of the subject suggests a joke. What has been written *pro* and *con* has given little satisfaction. The question asked is, "If these creatures really exist, why are they so seldom seen?" An answer to this suggested itself to me while listening to a lecture by Mr. Waterhouse Hawkins, on the sea ophidian. In discussing the structure of the eye of this class of vertebrates, he took occasion to show that its habits must have been *nocturnal*. Beyond controversy such was the case, as the eye was unsuited to the day. Does not this answer the objection that "the Sea Serpent is seldom seen?"

NAHANT.

BOSTON AND NEW YORK, 1784.—
 "When I left this town last April, I was (you will remember) very desirous that we should obtain a charter of incorporation; I then thought that if we could get it our streets would be regularly swept, the dirt carried away, and the Lord knows what else besides; but how greatly have I altered my opinion since I have spent two months in New York; why, I vow and protest, their charter answers no manner of purpose, that I could see, saving the building of a beautiful Kiosco for people to be hanged in. During the heats of last summer I have seen their streets no better than receptacles of filth in every degree of putridity; and strange to tell, there I saw the high and the low, the rich and the poor, the municipal officers, all, all in general, wading through these dirty holes, heaps and kennels with equal indifference and insensibility; but I must not tell you all I thought and said then, suffice it for me

to inform you what the consequence of these observations has been. I am now a most inveterate Anti-Corporation man, and I voted the other day, at our Town Meeting, against the new charter with all my lungs. What, says one to me, what, says another, what are you doing, Mr. —? What are you about? Go, go to New York, gentlemen, go and see what pickle that town is in, and then tell me (if you dare) of getting Mayors Aldermen, and the Lord knows what besides! *Cui bono* my friends? Nay, I swan (as the old saying is), we of Boston, after all, are the better off than those of New York; have we not got a fine public walk, now well planted, gravelled and fenced in? Whereas, at New York (although they have what they call their fields), yet none of them have ever thought as yet of planting a single tree for public ornament or utility. Ergo, no charter for Boston; and I will vote against every attempt to bring in this new mode of government. The anarchy of our Town Meeting is preferable to this fastidious, costly and useless pomposity."—*Extract from a letter from Boston, printed in Loudon's N. Y. Packet, Nov. 22, 1784.* PETERSFIELD.

A FORGOTTEN PATRIOT.—*Philadelphia, April 30th, 1777.*—Died, in this city, on Friday, the 25th inst., Mr. Acklam Bonfield, late of Quebec, merchant, aged 37 years, and on Saturday his remains were decently interred in Christ Church burying ground, attended by the officers of the army, and a number of respectable citizens.

In justice to the memory of this worthy gentleman, with truth it may be

said, his conduct was exemplary and his character unimpeachable. On the political area he shone with distinguished lustre, having espoused the cause of the United States at an early period, and continued warm in his attachment to the liberties of mankind and the rights of humanity. Nor were his professions the emanations only of empty words; his many great and important services will ever endear his memory to the friends of this country. When our army arrived before Quebec he testified his attachment to our cause by immediately forsaking the city (at that time a confused yakes of tyranny and persecution), sacrificing the most flattering prospects of an increasing fortune, derived from an unlimited credit and an extensive commerce, to the precarious event of a civil war. When our troops were destitute of money and other necessities of life, he nobly and generously contributed to their relief, on the faith of the United States, without any prospect of emolument but a simple disbursement of property. When the fortune of our arms declined in Canada and our hopes of success were entirely frustrated in that province, he took a share in our misfortune, and retreated with the army, notwithstanding he was courted to return to the unmolested enjoyment of his estate, and invited to accept of the royal clemency. But neither the allurements of the one or the humiliating terms of the other—and what more effectually evidences the disinterestedness of his actions—not even the affection of an amiable wife, or the endearments of a number of dutiful children, could tempt him to prostitute his

soul to the power he abhorred; but, preferring poverty with freedom to affluence with infamy, he persevered in his purposes though to the utter ruin of his temporal affairs. In this city he fixed his abode, and whilst waiting the event of this important aera, divested of that affluence to which he was accustomed, cut off from the hopes of ever beholding his parents, his wife, his children or his friends; in a distant country, without connections or acquaintance, he was seized with a violent inflammatory disorder, in the bloom of health and meridian zenith of life, which he bore with the resignation of a Christian and the fortitude of a man, and which terminated in the death of a man dear to his friends and truly valuable to society.

"No friend's complaint, no kind domestic care
Pleas'd thy pale ghost, or graced thy mournful bier;
By foreign hands thy manly limbs compos'd;
By foreign hands thy humble grave adorn'd;
By strangers honor'd, and by strangers mourn'd!
Such was the man, who now from earth removed
In heaven enjoys the Liberty he lov'd."

Pennsylvania Journal.

PETERSFIELD.

THE UNIFORM OF LAFAYETTE.—"I have consented to serve this winter with the Count d'Etaing. But although I must reenter the French army with the rank of Marechal-de-Camp dating from the surrender of Lord Cornwallis, I shall retain my American Uniform and exterior as well as the interior of an American soldier. I shall perform my duties and take my orders as a soldier borrowed from the United States, and shall watch eagerly the happy moment when I may once more join our dear colors."—*Lafayette to Washington, Paris, 24 October, 1782.* J. A. S.

QUERIES

THE ROYALIST VAN CORTLANDT.—Turning over the leaves of Jennings' Field Paths and Green Lanes, recently published, in a notice of Hailsham, County of Sussex, England, I fell upon the following lines: "On the north wall (of an old church) I was struck with a tablet to the memory of 'Colonel Philip Van Cortlandt, a retired royalist officer of the American War, died at Hailsham, May, 1814, aged 74.'" What was the pedigree of this gentleman, and how was he related to General Philip Van Cortlandt, of the Continental army, whose autobiography appeared in the May number of the Magazine, II, 178?

WESTCHESTER.

AN EARLY PORTRAIT PAINTER.—The following letter, from "George Allen, Portrait Painter," was addressed to Sir William Pepperrell, of Kittery Point, Me. Can any of your readers furnish any information of the writer, or his pamphlet?

J. C.

Boston, Mass.

Sr.—I humbly ask permission for addressing myself in this manner. Having recd a Letter from Capt. Gordon at his going into the country for a little-time signifying your desire I would wait on you; which the disadvantageous situation of my affairs has prevented a few days, I take the Liberty, on the reputation of the Captain's friendship to desire your Patience for reading the inclos'd little Pamphlet: The necessary occasion of Publishing which its self will explain; hoping it may give more advantageous ideas of its Authors Abil-

ities than my present appearance possibly may: And Sr I will be Answerable in whatever I have the Honour to employ my Pencils in Portrait Painting to perform it equal to my assertions of bottome of Page the 9th by which means I make no doubt in a little time of amply makeing amends in an advantageous Practice, for the time I have spent in study and writing in the Art

I shall not fail waiting on you without delay and with begging Pardon for this freedome which I judge partly necessary

I am Sr.

with great respect
your most obedient
and most Humble Servt.
George Allen
Portrait Painter.

April 12th, 1750

YELLOW BEARDED WHEAT.—A letter, from a farmer, of Ulster County, written in 1784, states "that he sowed a considerable quantity of ground with the *yellow bearded wheat*, and that it answered his expectations fully; the insect not committing the least depredation on a single spear of wheat. But that his neighbors having sowed the *white* and the *red* bearded wheat was almost all cut off. This circumstance which is known to be true, affords a corroborating proof of the assertion of Colonel Morgan." Who introduced the yellow wheat, what was the assertion of Colonel Morgan, and when was it made?

PASTOR.

MONTCALM'S PROPHECY.—The Gen-

tleman's Magazine for 1777, page 343, contains the following statement in a review of an English translation of "Letters from the Marquis de Montcalm, 1757-9," then recently printed at London.

"That the sagacity of this accomplished General (who with his antagonist Wolfe died in the bed of honour before Quebec) was equal to his bravery, appears from the following prediction, now fatally verified: 'All the English colonies would long since have shaken off the yoke, if the fear of seeing the French at their door had not been a check to them. When Canada shall be conquered, and the Canadians and these people become one people, on the first occasion, when England shall seem to strike at their interest, will these colonies, do you think, obey? What will they have to fear from a revolt? Could England send an army of 100,000 or 200,000 to oppose them at such a distance? It is true she possesses a fleet, and the towns of North-America, besides being few in number, are all open, without forts or citadels, and that a few men of war in their ports would be sufficient to keep them to their duty; but the interior part of the country, which forms an object of greater importance, who will undertake to conquer, over rocks, lakes, rivers, woods and mountains, which every-where intersect it, and where a handful of men acquainted with the country would be able to destroy the larger armies?'

"The whole is well worth perusal, and shews that M. de Montcalm was *tam Mercurio quam Marte*. It is proper to add, that the authenticity of this work was lately attacked in the House of

Lords by Lord Shelburne, but ably defended by Lord Mansfield."

Are these letters considered genuine? The statement of Mr. Parkman before the Massachusetts Historical Society in June, 1869, is not quite conclusive.

CAMBRIDGE.

REPLIES

LONG ISLAND INDIANS.—(II, 370.) In the printing of my note on the "Land Turtle" the following errors, owing, probably, to the difficulty of distinguishing between the letters *u* and *n* in handwriting, have occurred:

Meshenimickinaukong is printed Meshenimickinaukong.

Misquataince is printed Misnuataince.

Mukomisudains is printed Mukomisadains.

Muskodains is printed Muskodaius.

Mascontins is printed Mascontius.

Michigamies is printed Michigainies.

Mitchigamia is printed Mitchigainia.

Meshekunnoghquoh is printed Meshekainomoghquoh.

Meeshekan is printed Meeshekan.

Michausaugiegan is printed Michausaugiegau.

ROBERT S. ROBERTSON.

Fort Wayne, Ind.

THE TOUCH TEST OF MURDER.—(II, 302.) That this superstition still lingers among the American people is proved by the following paragraph from the N. Y. Evening Post of May 20th, 1878:

"Sheriff Young, of Concordia parish in Louisiana, is accused of taking a murderer out of prison a few days ago that he might touch the wounds of his dead victim and see whether they would bleed or not. Of course they did not bleed, and the sheriff took the man, who is a friend of his, back to prison, the

whole performance, as is alleged, being a trick to raise a presumption in favor of the murderer among the superstitious people of the parish."

Your readers are doubtless familiar with Sir Walter Scott's description of the ordeal of *bier-right* contained in the twentieth chapter of the *Fair Maid of Perth*.

PETERSFIELD.

—
KNIGHTING OF GENERAL AMHERST.—
Your querist, J. J. B., who is wrong in his chronology, will probably be interested in the following account of an eye witness of the interesting event. "*Staten Island, October 26th, 1761*. The ceremony of investing Sir Jeffery Amherst with the Honorable Order of the Bath, was performed yesterday in camp, he having concerted with Major-General Monckton, such manner of its being performed, as the present service would allow of.

His Excellency Maj.-General Monckton, Governor of New York, and several officers of the army being present, Major-General Monckton first read Mr. Secretary Pitt's letter.

Whitehall, July 17, 1761.

Sir:

His Majesty having been graciously pleased, as a mark of his royal approbation of the many and eminent services of Major-General Amherst, to nominate him to be one of the Knights Companions of the most noble Order of the Bath; and it being necessary that he should be invested with the ensigns of the said Order, which are transmitted to him by this opportunity; I am to signify to you the King's pleasure, that you should perform that ceremony; and it

being his Majesty's intention, that the same be done in the most honorable and distinguished manner that circumstances will allow of, you will concert and adjust with General Amherst such time and manner, for investing him with the ensigns of the Order of the Bath, as shall appear to you most proper for shewing all due respect to the King's order, and as may, at the same time, mark in the most public manner his Majesty's just sense of the constant zeal, and signal abilities, which General Amherst has exerted in the service of his King and country.

I am &c.,

Hon. Robert Monckton. W. Pitt.

Major-General Monckton then proceeded to put the ribbon over Sir Jeffery Amherst's shoulder, making an apology, that the circumstances would not admit of a more formal investiture. Sir Jeffery Amherst, upon receiving this order, addressed himself to Major-General Monckton in the following terms: 'Sir I am truly sensible of this distinguishing mark of his Majesty's royal approbation of my conduct, and shall ever esteem it as such; and I must beg leave to express to you the peculiar satisfaction I have, and the pleasure it gives me, to receive this mark of favour from your hands.'

W. K.

—
AN EPITAPH ON FRANKLIN.—(II, 365.)
In the Introduction to Mr. J. F. Lonbat's late sumptuous work on the Medallic History of the United States it is stated that the well known legend in Latin hexameter on the Franklin medal, "*Eripuit cælo fulmen, sceptrumque tyrannis,*" was from the pen of Turgot.

Madame du Deffand, in her letter to the Duchess de Choiseul, does not name the author.

LECTOR.

THE FOUR KINGS OF CANADA.—(II, 151, 313, 371.) While examining a curious map of North America, by Herman Moll, engraved in London in the year 1715, I was struck by the inscription placed on the Iroquois tract. "The Iroquois consist of four cantons governed by so many Kings and are all hearty friends to ye English; Those Princes came into England in 1710 to offer their service agt. ye French in Canada, and had it not been for ye miscarriage of our expedition to Quebec in 1711 these People would have been of great service to us, for they joyn'd General Nicholson with 2000 men on his march to attack Montreal." This may be of interest, as doubt has been thrown upon the correctness of the title of "King."

STATE LIBRARY.

SONG OF THE VERMONTERS.—A mention in one of the book reviews of the Magazine (I, 268), of the old war song of the "Beech seal" boys of Vermont, called the "Song of the Vermonters," beginning

"Ho! All to the borders! Vermonters come down,"

prompts a solution of its long unsettled authorship. Various credited to several of our New England poets, but more strongly perhaps to Ethan Allen, it without doubt belongs to Whittier, as a repetition in the song of a couplet in one of the earlier verses of the poet indicates. The lines are as follows in the fourteenth stanza of the song:

"Far dearer the blast round the mountains which
raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyr which breathes
over slaves."

And again in "The Yankee Girl," tenth stanza, the same words are found:

"And the sky of thy south may be brighter then
ours,
And greener thy landscapes and fairer thy flowers;
*But dearer the blast round our mountains which
raves,
Than the sweet summer zephyr that breathes over
slaves.*"

A. M. C.

GENERAL ARTHUR ST. CLAIR'S PAPERS.

—Under the head of Archives of Historical Societies (II, 363) a desire is expressed to learn the name of the present owner or custodian of General St. Clair's Ms.

They were purchased by the State of Ohio in 1870 for two thousand dollars, and deposited in the State Library at Columbus. Appended to the State Librarian's Report for 1871 are what purport to be "Indexes" of these papers; but on careful inspection of the lists, it is apparent that only a portion are enumerated, and these, perhaps, the least important.

As indexed, there is one letter of Colonel Bouquet in 1763; two letters of Thomas Smith, July 18th and 26th, 1774; one of General Washington, April 6th, 1781; one of Major Moore, Sept. 19th, 1781; and one of the officers of the Pennsylvania Line, March 29th, 1783. These embrace all of the Revolutionary and Pre-Revolutionary period. There are a few letters of 1785 and 1786, and then the larger portion begins to follow more frequently, covering largely the

period of his Governorship of the North Western Territory, 1788-1803; thence occasionally till his death in 1818.

The Librarian states, in a prefatory note: "Besides the manuscript referred to in the following indexes, there are four large bound volumes, on the blank pages of which are pasted some hundreds of letters and other matter belonging to the same purchase of St. Clair manuscript papers, each volume having its own index." Whether these contain St. Clair's Revolutionary correspondence I am uninformed.

The late Alfred T. Goodman, Secretary of the Western Reserve Historical Society, it is understood left a Ms. Life of General St. Clair; and it has been reported that the Hon. Wm. Henry Smith, who, while Secretary of State of Ohio, made commendable exertions to collect for the State all manuscripts he could pertaining to Ohio, has commenced, or designs to do so, a work on General St. Clair. Mr. Smith now resides in Chicago, and it is to be hoped that he has not abandoned his laudable purpose. General St. Clair's services in the old French and Indian war, in the Revolutionary contest, and his nearly fifteen years Governorship of the North Western Territory, including his campaign in 1791 against the confederated Indian tribes, furnish a large and interesting field for an historical biography.

L. C. D.

Madison, Wis.

BLOCK ISLAND.—(II. 440.) J. R. B. makes what appears to him to be a correction of my statement in the May number of the magazine, that the Verrazano map gave the name of "Luisa" to

Block Island, instead of "Claudia." He refers to Michael Lok's Verrazano map in the John Carter Brown Catalogue, upon which map the name of "Claudia" is found. By a perusal of the article in the present number, in connection with the maps, J. R. B. will perceive that the error lies with himself, and that the Verrazano map is not given in the catalogue referred to, in *fac-simile* or otherwise.

B. F. DE COSTA.

BOOKS WANTED.

We beg to inform our subscribers that hereafter we shall devote so much of this column as may be necessary to a department of BOOKS WANTED. Through this medium collectors will be enabled to communicate with each other, and thus perhaps acquire books for which they have sought elsewhere in vain, or dispose of books for which they may have no further use. Collectors desiring to avail themselves of this column will please give their addresses in full, so that those who wish to communicate with them can do so directly, and not through us.

RATES, 30 cents a line of ten words. Advertisements must be accompanied by the cash in every instance.
A. S. BARNES & CO.

J. SABIN & SONS, 84 Nassau Street, N. Y. City.

Burke's Virginia, 4 vols., 8vo, *uncut*.

Beverly's Virginia, *uncut*.

(Peters, S.) History of Connecticut, London edition, *uncut*.

Brereton's Virginia, 4to.

Bullock's Virginia, 4to.

Hamor's Virginia, 4to, original edition.

Weymouth's Voyage to Virginia, 4to.

Harriot's Virginia, London, 1588, 4to.

O. H. MARSHALL, Buffalo, N. Y.

St. John Hector (Crève Coeur) Letters from an American Farmer, Philadelphia. Matthew Carey. 1793.

A. H. DART, 167 Remsen Street, Brooklyn.

For sale: Lossing's Field Book of the Revolution, in numbers.

T. F. DONNELLY, Box 1672, N. Y. City.

Pamphlets or tracts relating to the Pope-Bowles controversy.

Pamphlets relating to the Ireland Shakespearean Forgeries.

(Publishers of Historical Works wishing Notices, will address the Editor, with Copies, Box 100, Station D—N. Y. Post office.)

THE MEDALLIC HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES OF AMERICA, 1776-1876.

By J. F. LOUBAT, LL. D. With 170 etchings by JULES JACQUEMART. Two volumes folio. I. text, pp. 478. II plates. LXXXVI. Published by the author. New York, 1878.

These superbly printed volumes are an invaluable contribution to a branch of history which has hitherto had no special attention, and fills a blank long felt by students. Before the present work, as the accomplished gentleman to whose intelligence, public spirit and generous liberality it is due justly says, "no thorough work, devoted to the medals of the United States of America, had been published." Some years since Dr. Mease contributed to the Collections of the New York Historical Society an Essay on American Medals, which was reprinted, with the author's corrections, by the Massachusetts Historical Society, and further supplemented by them with a description prepared by J. S. Fisher. Neither of these were illustrated. The present sumptuous and elaborate volumes leave nothing to be desired, and are exhaustive of the subject in its artistic relations. It will no doubt lead to an ascertaining of the present ownership of the original medals. From these pages it appears that our American medals number eighty-six in all, seven of which have been struck by order of Congress as rewards of merit. Of these seventeen are of the period of the revolution; twenty-seven of the war of 1812, four of the Mexican and two of the Civil war. Five were voted to foreigners. The remaining seven, which cannot properly be classed as American official medals, were struck to commemorate international events. Nearly all the early medals were executed by French engravers. Those after independence at home. The first (of gold) was voted to Washington in 1776 for his services at Boston, the last to John Horn, Jr., in 1874, in recognition of his heroic exploits in the rescue of drowning persons in Detroit River. The finest specimens of the collections are considered to be the John Paul Jones and Daniel Morgan pieces.

In the first volume Mr. Loubat gives some account of the unexpected difficulties he encountered in the search for the material to complete the task. Only after years of patient investigation was he able to fulfill all the conditions of his original plans. This included not only a description of the medals conferred, but a biographical sketch of each of the persons thus honored. In that of Lieutenant-Colonel de Fleury some original material now first ap-

pears. A careful index increases the value of the work.

The second volume is made up wholly of engravings of the medals, in which their exact dimensions are followed. These were executed by Mons. Jules Jacquemart of Paris, whose etchings are well known to artists and amateurs. The impressions are upon paper of the finest quality, especially made for the purpose. In a word, the work is a monument to the industry, intelligence, taste and munificence of the author.

LES CANADIENS DE L'OUEST, PAR
JOSEPH TASSÉ. 2 vols. 8vo, COMPAGNIE D'IM-
PRIMERIE CANADIENNE, Montreal. 1878.

We hail with satisfaction and delight the appearance of these skillfully arranged, well-digested and agreeably written volumes, which are exhaustive of the subject which they treat. As we have repeatedly remarked, in reviews of this branch of our literature, the era of French occupation is the romance era of America history. Whoever has had the good fortune to travel on foot through the regions still mainly inhabited by the French Canadians remembers with pleasure the simple manners, the warm hospitality, the frank cordiality, and the general integrity of this hardy rural race, who still, after more than a century of continuous contact with an encroaching English population, preserve the language and the characteristics of their French ancestors. As Monsieur Tassé says in the opening lines of his introduction, "The French Canadians were the pioneers of this continent. They were the first to overrun it in every direction while it was yet an immense solitude, in pristine and savage beauty. They were the first to penetrate to the ice regions of the pole; first they crossed the Rocky Mountains; first they trod the sands of the American desert and the fertile plains which skirt the Gulf of Mexico. Their adventurous spirit led them so far that there is not perhaps a ravine in the West which has not been visited by these intrepid explorers. They were the first civilized men who gave names to the lakes, the streams, the mountains, and the different spots they visited, thus baptizing a vast portion of the continent; and these names, although sometimes others have been substituted for them, will always recall to memory that this American land was once French."

More than two centuries have elapsed since the French Canadians, pushing up the St. Lawrence, and through the great lakes, made their appearance in the West—and far beyond northward, westward, and southward the adventurous

trappers and woodsmen urged their traffic and their insatiable passion for new scenes. No race has ever shown a more marked spirit of adventure than the Frenchman, once freed from the almost irresistible attraction of his native land; side by side with the most venturesome journeyed the devoted Jesuits, seeking to conquer the new world to their policy and their faith. They had reached Lake Superior in 1641, their missions were established in 1665, and in 1673 Marquette was with Joliet at the discovery of the Mississippi, which La Salle later explored to its mouth, thus completing the outlines of the vast interior empire, whose wings stretched from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the delta of the Mississippi. In 1656 a French explorer penetrated to the most distant shore of Hudson's Bay, and there planted the flag of France. New France then included a territory of more than fifteen hundred thousand square miles, extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific, from Hudson's Bay to the Gulf of Mexico, watered by the monster rivers of the Mississippi, Missouri, Ohio, St. Lawrence, and embracing in its wide grasp the extensive lakes of Erie, Ontario, Huron, Michigan and Superior. An inevitable destiny, which neither statesmanship nor diplomacy nor a thorough mastery of the arts of war could avert, transferred the supremacy over this matchless region, with its boundless and virgin resources, to the English rule. At this period (1763) the most populous of the French settlements was in the Illinois country, and Kaskaskias, the principal town, has been estimated—perhaps overestimated, M. Tassé remarks—to have had three thousand inhabitants. After the conquest, the migration of the French Canadians spread over the northwest territory, never stopping its continuous flow until they reached the Pacific Ocean, where were laid the foundations of the settlements of Vancouver and Oregon. To-day they are still found in numbers in British Columbia, on the shores of the Saskatchewan and the Mackenzie, where the climate is moderate and genial, notwithstanding the high latitude, and even up to the very verge of the polar regions. In Manitoba their settlements are firmly fixed, and their civilization displays itself in admirable schools, colleges and economic institutions. This and Lower Canada are the only remains of the vast empire which, in some measure, have preserved their ancient autonomy. But the influence of the race is still felt in the Western States of the American Union. In Illinois, Missouri, Michigan, Wisconsin and Minnesota there are numerous settlements of considerable importance. In Illinois, at Chicago and in its neighborhood, there is an extensive and compact French population. In Minnesota there are twenty thousand Canadians, in Michigan as many, and thousands in Dakota, Montana, Arizona, Colorado, and as far as New Mexico. M. Tassé estimates that in

the Northwest under British rule and in the Western United States there are not less than two hundred thousand French Canadians, and everywhere he claims they have preserved the traditions, the religion, the language and the habits of their race.

So much we have drawn from the concise and admirable introduction to these volumes. In the treatment of his subject M. Tassé has chosen the most attractive method, grouping sketches of the different settlements about the central figure in their history. Naturally de Langlade has the place d'honneur. Chapters follow upon Cadot, Réaume, Porlier, Rolette, Irmeau, Dubuque, Leclerc, Baby, Rainville, Provencal, Faribault, Lefebvre, Perrault, Ducharme, with notes and supplementary documents.

Langlade was the founder of the Wisconsin Colony, and is called the Father of Wisconsin. Then follow sketches: Joseph Rolette, one of the pioneers of Prairie-du-Chien; Salomon Juneau, founder of the prosperous city of Milwaukee, on one of the public squares of which a statue stands in his memory; Louis Riel of the Red River Colony; Julien Dubuque, founder of the Iowa city of that name; J. B. Beaubien of Chicago; Vital Guérin, founder of St. Paul, capital of Minnesota; Joseph Robidou, founder of St. Joseph in Missouri; the heroic F. X. Aubry, famous for his adventures, who died by the hand of an assassin at Santa Fé, New Mexico, when but thirty years of age. After these come biographies of Pierre Chrysologue Pambrun, one of the intrepid traders of British Columbia; Pierre Falcon, the "Sweet Singer" of the Red River of the North; Jacques Dupéron Baby, one of the earliest settlers of Detroit, and of Gabriel Franchère, of the first explorers who crossed the broad region between Montreal and Vancouver. In this portrait gallery are sketches also of Pierre Menard and Noël Levasseur of Illinois, and of Louis Vital Bougy, who represented Missouri in the Senate of the United States [1873 to 1877.] Of this latter, a Montreal critic says that he can hardly be called a French Canadian, his descent being from a Louisiana creole family, who settled at Sainte Geneviève, Missouri, at an early day. Mr. Bougy, as he anglicises his name, served on the Committee on Indian Affairs. He died in 1877.

BURGOYNE'S LAST MARCH. POEM.

For the Celebration of the Hundredth Year of Bemis Heights (Saratoga), September 19th, 1877. 12mo, pp. 15. By ROBERT LOWELL. Newark, N. J. 1878.

This short poem, a contribution to the Saratoga Centennial, is now printed separately. It will be welcome to collectors of this kind of literature.

THE OLD HARTFORD GRAMMAR SCHOOL. Republished from Barnard's American Journal of Education for April, 1878. 8vo, pp. 256. BROWN & GROSS, Hartford.

The Connecticut Colony, which made its first permanent settlement at Windsor, Hartford and Wethersfield in 1632, was composed of exceptional elements, its promoters being men of high culture. Thomas Hooker, the leader, was a graduate of Emanuel College, Cambridge. The territory had been conveyed in 1630 by the old Plymouth Colony to Lord Say and Seal, together with John Hampden, Lord Burke, John Pym and other proprietors, men of advanced and liberal views. The first constitution adopted in 1639 was framed in a spirit of extreme tolerance, and in strong antagonism to the narrow, dogmatic sectarianism which was a characteristic trait of the older settlements. Indeed, so broad was its base of personal franchise and religious freedom that it has stood the test of time without any radical change. Mr. Roger Ludlow compiled a code of laws for the colony in 1646. In this were included enactments under the titles, Children and Schools, which remained the school law of the State until the beginning of the present century.

New Haven was settled in 1638, and a free school was set up in 1641. Not content with this elementary establishment, which had its home in a log hut, a public grammar school was three years later founded, and annual provision made to support the youth of the colony who were attending Harvard College. In 1677 the Legislature ordained that the county towns in each of the four counties—Hartford, New London, New Haven and Fairfield—should maintain a Latin School. Our forefathers believed, and rightly, that acquaintance with Latin, which supplies the roots of the picturesque portion of modern English, is indispensable to a thorough understanding of even the meaning of its vocabulary.

In 1665 Edward Hopkins, who had been Governor of the Colony, bequeathed a considerable estate for the "*breeding up of hopeful youths both at the Grammar school and College for the public service of the country in future times*"—a very proper understanding of true civil service reform—the employment of the fittest. Of this bequest a portion, £400, was allotted by the trustees to the town of Hartford, and passed as an endowment fund to the celebrated institution which for a century was known as the "School" or the "Free School," until in 1753 it received the name which it still bears of the "Free Grammar School."

The sketch before us gives the names and some biographical details of the teachers prior and subsequent to 1664, and pleasant reminiscences of some of the pupils. The pamphlet also con-

tains an account of the Public High School of Hartford in the form of a letter from Dr. Barnard to Prof. Capron, its principal. This school was established in 1847. The account was prepared in 1871.

BARTOW GENEALOGY. PART I. CONTAINING EVERY ONE OF THE NAME OF BARTOW, descended from Doctor Thomas Bartow, who was living at Crediton, in England, A. D. 1672, with reference to the books where any of the name is mentioned. By EVELYN BARTOW.

BARTOW GENEALOGY. PART II. CONTAINING THE DESCENDANTS NOT BEARING the name of Bartow, descended from Doctor Thomas Bartow, who was living at Crediton, in England, A. D. 1672. 8vo, pp. 218. Baltimore.

This is the completion of the work noticed in the February number [II, 127] of the Magazine. This genealogy of an interesting family was prepared by the Reverend Evelyn Bartow of Baltimore, Maryland, with the assistance of Mr. Morey H. Bartow of New York. It contains also some short pedigrees of a few families who intermarried with the Bartows, viz., of Pell, Reid, Stevenson, Ryder, Pierrepont and Constable. It is handsomely printed, well illustrated, and is in every way creditable. The edition is limited to one hundred copies.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVIEW. VOL. V, No. 3. May-June, 1878. A. S. BARNES & Co., Publishers, New York.

The articles which especially concern us in this number are three—1. United States Provisional Court of the State of Louisiana, by Judge Charles A. Peabody.—A reminiscence of the late civil war. This is an account of the establishment of the United States Provisional Court for the State of Louisiana in December, 1862, by President Lincoln. Since June of that year the judiciary system had been under the control of the military Governor. The new court, as Judge Peabody (who was named Provisional Judge in the proclamation of October, 1862) informs us, was called into existence originally by the necessities of the Government in respect to its foreign relations. Its purpose was the determination of controversies liable to bring about international complications. Its powers were exceptional, and its decisions conclusive. It appears to have accomplished its purpose and to have relieved the State Department of a great variety of annoying and perplexing cases which it was

eminently proper to adjudicate on the spot. Of the discretion and judgment of Judge Peabody there was never complaint, and there can be no question.

Next in interest we find an article on the Future of the Erie Canal, by John B. Jervis, the eminent Civil Engineer, in which he demonstrates the vast increase of travel and economy of traction which will result from the application of steam to towage. Finally we have the third part of the Elements of our National Wealth from the pen of our distinguished economist, David A. Wells.

The general articles maintain the high character of this excellent periodical. Those interested in biblical study will find an Analysis of the Gospel of St. John, and some views as to its authorship and the date of its appearance, which are striking in their critical acumen and forcible presentation.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE NEW JERSEY
HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Second series. Vol.
V, No. 2. 1878. 8vo, pp. 111.

In the report of the Committee on Colonial Documents we find the welcome information that the New Jersey Collections have been enriched by the receipt from England of thirty-three folio cases, containing copies of the correspondence between the Governors of the Province of New Jersey and the authorities in New Jersey, and other miscellaneous documents of dates between 1703 and 1776, together with most of the minutes of the Council of the Province, for the printing of which it is expected the State will make the necessary appropriation. Information is also given that there are documents attainable in England relating to the West Jersey Society.

The paper read at the Annual Meeting, entitled *The First Century of Hunterdon County, State of New Jersey*, by George S. Mott, D.D., is printed at length. Here we find that at the close of the seventeenth century West Jersey had eight thousand inhabitants. Then began their desire to possess and cultivate the Indian territory lying north of them. The proprietors of West Jersey obtained the consent of the Council to treat with the natives, and a tract fronting on the Delaware was purchased from Himhammae, the Indian owner. This tract containing 150,000 acres, covered the old Arnwell township, now Raritan, Delaware, East and West Arnwell, and was divided among the proprietors. This was in 1703. After this, immigration crept slowly, but steadily up both the Delaware and the Raritan rivers. Jersey had been settled by several distinct stocks. In 1638 religious persecutions drove over from England a colony of Presbyterian Covenanters; Quakers fol-

lowed in their wake; in 1685 Dutch Huguenots settled on the north branch of the Raritan. In 1757 there came in an emigration of German Reformed people, who, driven by persecution to Rhenish Prussia, had followed the course of the Rhine to Holland, and there taken shipping for New York, but were driven by stress of weather into Delaware Bay. From these German Valley took its name. They were followed by a large and continuous emigration from other parts of the colony. In these hardy elements is found the basis of that sturdy body which clung with persistent tenacity to the cause of freedom in the revolution. We find it stated in these pages as of tradition that General Morgan, whose riflemen won the day at Bemis Heights, was Jersey born.

The sketch is full of information, given in a pleasing, easy style.

THE DEAD TOWNS OF GEORGIA. BY
CHARLES C. JONES, JR. 8vo, pp. 263. MORN-
ING NEWS STEAM PRINTING HOUSE, Savan-
nah, 1878.

Under this significant and peculiar title, the accomplished gentleman, to whose scholarly pen and antiquarian taste this volume is due, has gathered up the fragmentary memories of towns, once important settlements of the colony which Oglethorpe founded, but now decayed or ruins. The antiquities of the aboriginal inhabitants of Georgia were treated by the same author in 1873. The present account begins with its European colonization. The work is divided into chapters, severally entitled Old and New Ebenezer; Frederica; Abercorn; Sunbury; Hardwick; Petersburg; Jacksonborough, etc.; Miscellaneous Towns, Plantations, etc.; and illustrated with plans of some of the townships.

We have no space for an elaborate review of these several sketches, which, while full of historical detail, are enlivened with spirited descriptions and graceful touches of poetic sentiment. We commend it cheerfully as a readable and valuable contribution to the knowledge of things old.

THE LAST YEARS OF DANIEL WEB-
STER: A MONOGRAPH. By GEORGE TICKNOR
CURTIS. 8vo, pp. 55. D. APPLETON & Co.,
New York. 1878.

Mr. Curtis was an ardent admirer of the great statesman, and was much with him towards the close of his illustrious career. His avowed purpose is to defend Mr. Webster against the charge of inconsistency in his political opinions, and particularly in his course upon the slavery question—an inconsistency, to use his own apt words, between "his conscience and his con-

duct." Mr. Curtis excuses and defends the Compromise measures of 1850, which he says were based on "the conviction that it was better to ascertain the fixed area of slavery, and leave it to the action of those whom it concerned for a final extinction, without an interference that could not be exerted within the limits of the Constitution, than it was to increase the hazards of secession by the Southern States, as a means of maintaining their exclusive authority over it, thereby incurring the necessity of a war for the preservation of the Union." Mr. Curtis calls attention to the efforts of Mr. Webster to harmonize the discordant elements in Congress and the country, a tempest his magic wand had not the power to still. How far Mr. Curtis has succeeded in his friendly task, the reader must judge. In pleading the cause of Mr. Webster, he pleads his own. Another generation may be more lenient than this to the master and the disciple.

THE RECORDS OF LIVING OFFICERS OF THE U. S. NAVY AND MARINE CORPS. Compiled from official sources by LEWIS R. HAMERSLY (late Lieutenant United States Marine Corps). Third edition, revised, with numerous additions. 8vo, pp. 403. J. B. LIPPINCOTT & Co., Philadelphia, 1878. E. R. PELTON, New York Agent.

This valuable compilation was first published in the year 1870, and had the approval of the Secretary of the Navy and Vice Admiral Porter. It is not a mere register of names, but a record of services of officers now living, verified for entire accuracy by the persons named. In the present edition many of the records which appeared in the two preceding are no longer to be found, death having made havoc in the ranks of the navy during the last decade. The purpose of the volume is, as the title states, to give the records of living officers only. It is needless to dwell upon the importance of such information to all reference libraries.

COLLECTIONS OF THE GEORGIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY. Vol. IV. 8vo. Savannah, 1878.

This volume contains, 1st. The Dead Towns of Georgia, by Charles C. Jones, Jr., which, published in a separate volume, we notice in this number. 2d. Itinerant observations in America, reprinted from the London Magazine, 1745-6. These were originally the anonymous contributions of a young gentleman who made the tour of some parts of America. It is a quaint and amusing account of life on the southern coast.

TWENTIETH ANNUAL REPORT OF

THE CORPORATION OF THE CHAMBER OF COMMERCE OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK FOR THE YEAR 1877-78. In two parts. Compiled by GEORGE WILSON, Secretary. 8vo, pp. 256 and 252. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, New York. 1878.

This is a continuation of the series of reports begun in 1859, and since regularly continued. It is by far the most important and valuable statistical compilation published in the United States. In it the general reader, the merchant, the banker will find information concerning the trade and finances of the country and of the State and City of New York, culled from a great variety of cumbersome volumes of official documents—in a word, all the grain without any chaff. An elaborate preface recites the contents of the work. From the subdivision on Coin, Currency and Banking we extract the following:

"The production and movement of gold and silver are of great interest. The reports show the production, as estimated by the deposits and purchases at the Mint, for the year ending June 30, 1877, to have been... \$80,533,064
Imports during same period..... 40,774,214

Total..... \$121,307,278
Exports and Re-Exports during same period deducted 56,142,237
Increase in fiscal year ending June 30, 1877... \$65,165,041

A remarkable showing when the number of United States bonds returned to this country from abroad is considered. For the first time since 1861 we have been able to retain the greater part of the annual products of our mines.

The day assigned for resumption is drawing near, and the metallic reserve in the country is a matter of the gravest consequence, for upon this, and upon this alone, depends the ability not to resume, but to *stay resumed*. We take again as the point of departure the estimate of Dr. Linderman, the Director of the Mint, of the amount of gold and silver in the country in the fall of 1873, an estimate generally concurred in, and the accuracy of which can be proved by tabular statements of the movement of the metals since the estimate made by Mr. Pollock, the Director of the Mint in Philadelphia in 1861:

Stock of gold and silver in 1873—Dr. Linderman's estimate..... \$140,000,000
Deposits in Mint, 1873 to 1877..... 218,305,010
Imports of coin, 1873 to 1877 106,066,718
\$464,371,728
Less exports, 1873-1877..... 271,431,056

In the country, June 30, 1877..... \$192,940,672
Increase, 1873 to 1877..... 52,940,672

Let us now examine the outstanding paper currency of the country. According to the official statement of the public debt there were out of old demand and legal-tender notes and fractional currency, June 1, 1877... \$307,771,417
And by statement of the Comptroller of the Currency, December 28, 1877, National Bank Notes..... 299,840,475

Total paper currency in circulation..... \$667,011,892
How far the amount of coin in the country will prove adequate to sustain this volume of paper at par is a subject concerning which there is the widest difference of

opinion. The experience of nations has so far shown that a much larger ratio of coin than is above presented is requisite to permanent equality; though under favorable circumstances a very small amount of coin will flow in a circulating medium, without commanding a premium. The ratio necessary varies with the condition of foreign exchanges, domestic prosperity and *public confidence*."

The report closes with a few words under the caption of "Encouraging symptoms," with which we freely concur:

"The present year (1878) has opened most encouragingly. The exports of grain have been enormous in amount and value, while our importations of manufactured goods continue to decrease. In a word, we are becoming less of a debtor nation. With prudence on the part of the Secretary of the Treasury, and non-interference with the finances by Congress, the situation will daily improve, and the hopes of the most sanguine be realized. 'Sweet are the uses of adversity;' the bitter experience of the last four years will not have been in vain, if from it we extract a lesson of wisdom. On every side we observe a quiet cheerfulness and hope, which are the necessary beginnings of confidence, and from these happy signs we draw the conclusion that we are at the outset of an era of national prosperity."

All the material signs are encouraging, but alas since the 1st of May, when this report was dated, the cloud, then but as big as a man's hand, has spread over the firmament and darkened the political horizon. Public confidence is again checked, and there will be no return of it until there is peace in Washington.

THE LAW OF PRICES: A DEMONSTRATION OF THE NECESSITY FOR AN INDEFINITE INCREASE OF MONEY. BY LYSANDER SPOONER. 8vo, pp. 14. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston. 1877.

OUR FINANCIERS: THEIR IGNORANCE, USURPATIONS AND FRAUDS. By LYSANDER SPOONER. 8vo, pp. 19. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston. 1877.

GOLD AND SILVER AS STANDARDS OF VALUE: THE FLAGRANT CHEAT IN REGARD TO THEM. By LYSANDER SPOONER. 8vo, pp. 29. A. WILLIAMS & Co., Boston. 1878.

These three papers are articles reprinted from the *Radical Review*. In the first of these articles, *The Law of Prices*, Mr. Spooner assumes that an indefinite increase of money is possible. With this assumption we take issue. Money is as much the product of labor as wheat or any other commodity. Its value is measured by its quantity and the amount of labor necessary to take it from the soil. The word money cannot in any proper sense be applied to its paper representatives. When the premises cannot be agreed upon between disputants, no agreement can possibly be arrived at as to a conclusion.

The second pamphlet, *Our Financiers*, hinges upon the Ohio campaign, for more money, of 1875, which Mr. Spooner considers a ridiculous contest. He condemns the three sixty-five interconvertible bond (the Kelley) scheme as impracticable, and if practicable, inadequate to the purposes it was intended to reach. He claims that in fact it would have deprived the country of all money whatever. We take issue again. It would have simply replaced a convenient currency with an inconvenient substitute, but it would not have in any way affected money, either in quantity or value. We agree with Mr. Spooner that "as it is with all other commodities, so it is with money, namely, that free competition in producing it and offering it in the market is the sure and only sure way of guaranteeing to us the greatest supply, the best article, and on the best terms"—and we will add, that any legislation which confers the attributes of money on that which is not money, is impolitic, unwise, and tends to diminish the supply. Mr. Spooner says that "industry is an animal, so to speak, that feeds and lives on money; since its strength, activity and growth depend mainly upon the amount of money that is furnished to it." This is again true. Such industries as live by money usually thrive and prosper. Such, on the contrary, as live upon credit are subject to all the enormous fluctuations to which credit is subject from its uncertain quality.

The third article on Gold and Silver as Standards of Value is full of excellent statement and well-recognized truisms, strangely misapplied. The precious metals have been accepted as standards, because they are more convenient and less liable to deterioration and fluctuation than any other known medium of exchange of values, and because of their easy and perfect recognition, while the values of paper representatives of either gold or silver, or any other product, are subject to all these disadvantages. These arguments are all the more dangerous because the fallacy upon which their arguments are based is in a looseness of language not at once apparent. It is in the false use of the word *money*. Gold and silver are no more money than wheat, or cattle or land. These metals only become money when coined and stamped with a declared value. They then become standards of other values or *money*. Paper, whether in the form of bank notes, or bonds, or mortgages, is not value, it is the representative of value. If the real value which it represents be destroyed, it loses all value. If the wheat spoil, the cattle take the murrain and die and the land even sink into quicksands, of what worth is its representative?

Mr. Spooner uses hard names with regard to those with whom he differs. We should be sorry to hold the chalice to his own lips. Abuse is not argument.

THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE WAR DEPARTMENT AS ONE OF THE CIVIL EXECUTIVE DEPARTMENTS OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, with a general view of its Interior Organization and Administration. 8vo, pp. 99. By WILLIAM A. DE CAINDRY. Washington, D. C. 1878.

A reprint in separate form of a portion of the Report on the Participation of the War Department in the International Exhibition of 1876. It opens with an account of the administration of the War Office during the revolution, beginning with the report of a committee of the Continental Congress to consider the expediency of establishing a War Office, submitted to their consideration on the 12th day of June, 1776. The establishment was approved by Washington, and from its institution rendered inestimable service. A second chapter recites the changes in the administrations, from 1789 to 1876; the organization in 1818; the history of the command of the army since 1821; the revival of the grade of General of the Army of the United States; and the duties of the several departments. The matter is well arranged and digested.

AMERICAN OCEAN STEAMSHIPS—

THEIR NECESSITY TO AMERICAN INDUSTRY AND COMMERCE. Speech of Mr. ELLIOT C. COWDIN of New York before the National Export Trade Convention at Washington, D. C., February 19, 1878. 8vo, pp. 15. Press of the Chamber of Commerce, New York. 1878.

We hope this pamphlet may receive the earnest consideration of every one of our national legislators. From it the interior may learn the causes of the decay of American commerce and the consequent injuries to their own interests. The valleys of the West, with their great natural resources, are capable of a product greatly in excess of its own wants. For that excess markets are needed. Those markets can only be found, and when found reached, by the aid of commerce. Now the steamship is the forerunner, and in some sense the creator of commerce, perhaps more correctly the guide of commerce to new destinations. The nations which control steamship communications control the commerce of the peoples with whom these communications exist. They carry the first intimation of the demands at one end or the other of the line of the wants respectively felt, and they carry to and fro for their own benefit.

An examination of these pages will show by what long and skillful measures Great Britain, through a system of subsidies to the Cunard line,

opened to her manufactures every South American port, and explain the reasons why, while we consume the greater part of South American products, those countries take little or nothing from us in exchange.

We will not take up the question of subsidies to European lines. We do not believe that there will be one steamer the more or the less on the Atlantic whether the Government grant or do not grant subsidies to American lines; but experience has demonstrated that if we would have our fair share of the rich trade with our Southern neighbors, intercourse with whom it is not only our interest, but our manifest duty to cultivate and foster, we must compete on equal terms; with reasonable aid from the Government in the way of mail *compensation*, the American steamship with its superior model, and the American merchant with his enterprise, will soon restore the balance of trade, and once more, as in the halcyon days of the first half of this century, the American flag will float on every sea.

REMINISCENCES OF THE TEXAS RE-

PUBLIC. Annual Address delivered before the Historical Society of Galveston, December 15, 1875. By ASHBEL SMITH. With a preliminary notice of the Historical Society of Galveston. Series No. 1. 8vo, pp. 82. Published by the Society. Galveston, Texas. 1876.

This is the first publication of the Historical Society of Galveston, which was organized in the year 1871. Mr. Ashbel Smith, a native of Connecticut and long resident in the Lone Star State, is well known both in this country and abroad. The annexation of Texas, as is well remembered, was the first act in the long series which culminated in secession. Manifest destiny worked itself out to a legitimate conclusion, which was disappointing and unexpected to those who undertook to "shape its ends" in this great political measure. Mr. Ashbel Smith, whose pro-slavery sentiments are nowhere concealed, was at the time acquainted with the movers in the scheme, and of his own personal knowledge supplies many interesting details, to which he adds many anecdotes of his own relations with the "great of earth; among others, the story of the claim of the "Prince of Peace" to the province of Texas as a grant from the King of Spain.

In these pages we learn that General Houston was not in favor of annexation, but that he yielded his opinions to the only one man to whom he deferred. That man was General Jackson. Texas was annexed in 1845, at which time our author, Ashbel Smith, was the Secretary of State of Texas. Mr. Smith states that he was at first adverse to the passage of the

diplomatic act, and should have preferred peace with Mexico and Texian independence, but that he changed his views when he saw that the overwhelming current of popular opinion was for annexation to the United States. He grumbles sadly, however, over the "lost expectations" of the State, which he claims was led to believe that it would rest in the sheltering arms of the United States Government, and realise a sort of Utopia, in which all manner of improvements would be made at National expense. There was a time when such policy was denounced as not "democratic," but change seems to be the universal law, and names no longer imply what they were wont to imply. There is a Latin proverb to the same effect, which need not be quoted.

AMERICAN COMMUNITIES — BRIEF SKETCHES OF ECONOMY, ZOAR, BETHEL, AURORA, AMANA, ICARIA, the Shakers, Oneida, Wallingford, and the Brotherhood of the New Life; by William Alfred Hinds. 8vo, pp. 176. Office of the AMERICAN SOCIALIST, Oneida, N. Y. 1878.

Now that Communism and Socialism are claiming public attention throughout the civilized world, an enumeration and description of the various successful communities in the United States is timely and serviceable. Some of our foremost intellectual men have at some time or other been connected with organizations of this character. Indeed, it may be safely said that the one all-engrossing problem of our day is the adjustment of the relation of man to man, and of capital to labor. In this volume are to be found the origin and history of the Harmonists, the Separatists, the Communities and other social experiments.

COLLECTIONS OF THE NEW HAMPSHIRE ANTIQUARIAN SOCIETY, No. 3. A list of the Centenaries of New Hampshire who have deceased since 1705, with sketches of many of them. Compiled from various sources. By DANIEL F. SECOMB. 8vo. GEO. CROWELL KETCHUM, Printer, Contorcook. 1877.

Here is excellent material for investigation. In England not long since an open challenge was made to bring perfect proof that any centenarian has ever existed. In New England, where the records have been carefully and continuously kept since the establishment of the Massachusetts Colony, it should not be difficult to verify many of the accounts given by Farmer & Moore in their *Gazetteer of New Hampshire*,

and now supplemented in this list. It is a matter of some surprise to us that the patient investigator who prepared this pamphlet does not give any proofs of either the birth or death of the subjects of his commentary. Why not have presented the baptismal record, and the newspaper or gravestone witness to the date of death?

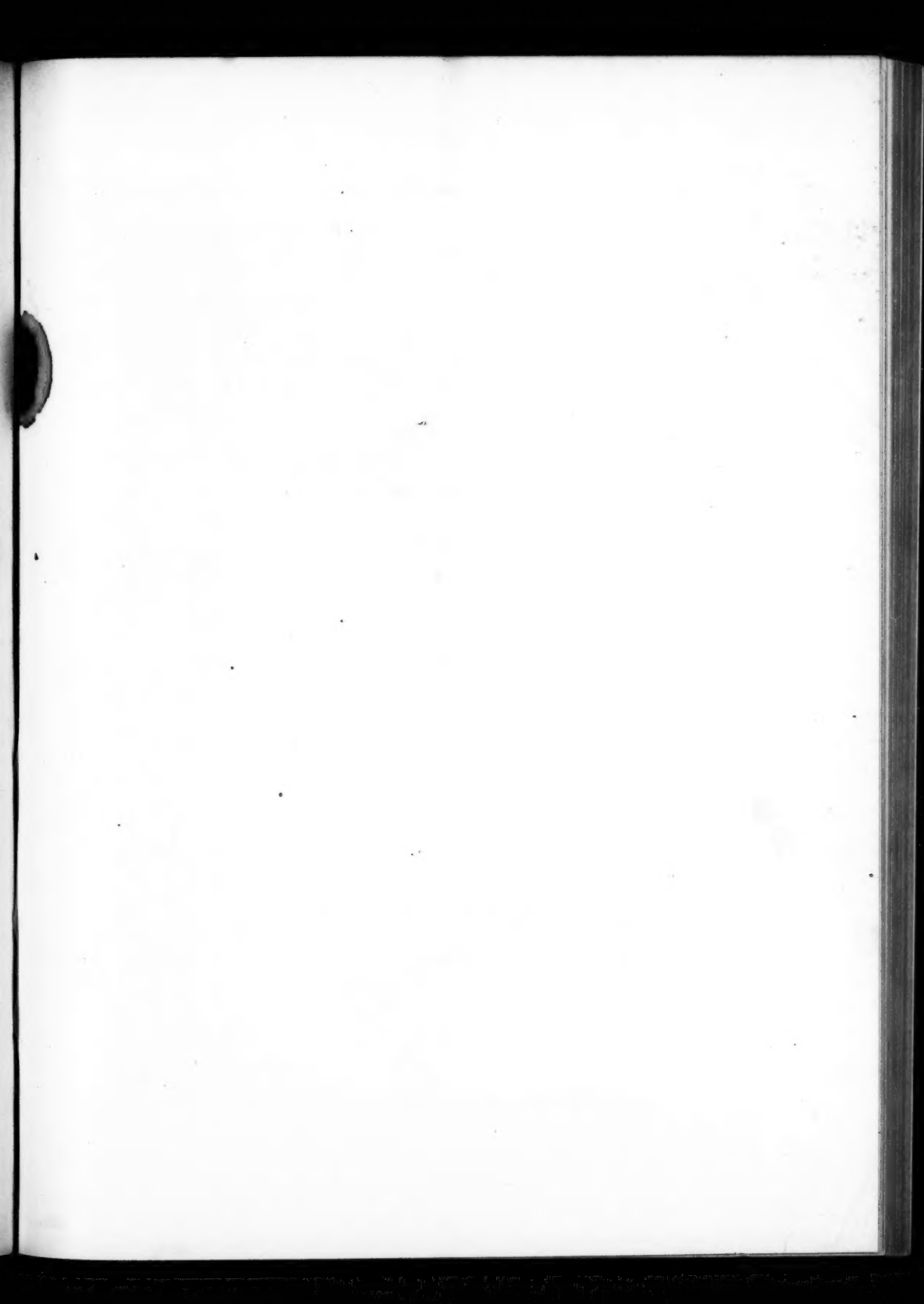
As an instance of the necessity of close examination, we recall the case of Captain Larbush, who lately died in New York, whose claims to an extreme age were disproved by his own sworn testimony, searched out in the British archives by a "doubting Thomas," a class whose services are more appreciated by historians than theologians.

TRENTON ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO. By WILLIAM S. STRYKER, Adjutant-General of New Jersey. Printed for private distribution. 8vo, pp. 14. Trenton, N. J. 1878.

In this sketch our accomplished friend, the patient investigator, presents a picture of this historic town as it was in the days when Washington made his midnight raid on Christmas eve, and, in the new phrase of a military critic, "Burgoyned" the Hessians. The author leads the reader through the streets of the town, points out the houses, and names their occupants, with occasional reference to their origin; shows where the public offices were held, where Washington had his headquarters, and the building in which Colonel Rall expired after the battle. Trenton owes General Stryker a debt of gratitude for this careful local monograph.

FUND PUBLICATION, NO. XII. WENLOCK CHRISTISON AND THE EARLY FRIENDS IN TALBOT COUNTY, MARYLAND. A Paper read before the Maryland Historical Society, March 9th, 1874, by SAMUEL A. HARRISON, M. D. 8vo, pp. 76. Baltimore. 1878.

This paper was originally written as a contribution to a history of Talbot County, Maryland, and is therefore full of local interest. Its base is a narrative of the life of a Quaker confessor, who, driven out of Massachusetts by persecution, after punishment by stripes and imprisonment, for non-conformity with the Puritan dogma, took refuge in Talbot, Maryland, where he died in 1678 or 1679. It seems almost a satire upon human nature to find recorded in the same pages which tell of the sufferings of Christison "barely for being such a one as is called a Quaker," that he should have been one of the very first in the county in which he found shelter to participate in slave traffic.





THE VAN SCHAACK HOUSE—KINDERHOOK.

MAGAZINE OF AMERICAN HISTORY

VOL. II

SEPTEMBER 1878

No. 9

AN OLD KINDERHOOK MANSION

KINDERHOOK is one of the oldest and most charming villages in the State of New York; being noted for its rural beauty, its fine residences, and its pleasant drives. There are beautiful prospects also from different points, among which are those of the valley of the Kinderhook Creek and of the distant Blue Mountains, as the Catskills are there called, from the circumstance that in certain states of the intervening atmosphere that pleasing hue is imparted to that range of mountains.

The village was settled by emigrants from Holland more than two hundred years ago; and among the oldest of those first settlers, who are still represented there by their descendants, are the Van Schaacks. Many interesting memories of past days cling around some of the old houses still standing in the village and its immediate vicinity. They bear witness in their high pointed gable ends and steep roofs, as well as in other respects, to their remote erection, and to the character of their early occupants, having been most substantially built in the ancient Dutch style, and in some instances with well-burnt brick brought from Holland. Chronological evidence of their erection has been perpetuated in some cases by large iron figures placed in their gables. The timbers put into these old buildings are simply marvelous for their great number and immense size. Strange as it may appear, it is not incredible that some of these timbers were transported from the old country, as it is a well-authenticated fact, that at an early period of the Dutch occupancy, heavy timber was brought over from Holland for the erection of church edifices on the well-wooded banks of the Hudson. There were no shams or death-traps in the erections of our Holland ancestors. The builders were not "a race eight stories high in their pride, but only twelve inches thick in their principles." They did not erect in their days, as is